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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Atrash Breaks Nationalist Unanimity

The head of the 'civil administration' in the West Bank, Shlomo Elia, met the mayor of Beit Sahour, May 12. Elia, accompanied by five senior military officers and military officials of the 'civil administration', claimed during the meeting in the municipal building that the mayor of Beit Sahour, Hanna Atrash, had called him to visit. Atrash claimed it was on an initiative from Elia. Also present were four municipal councilmen and an Israeli TV crew who filmed the event for the evening news.

'civil administration' would cover 70 per cent of the expenses of reorganising roads in Beit Sahour and widening Monastary Street.

The issue of exit permits to Jordan, the cancellation of the clause which forces young men between 16 and 26 to leave for nine months, and wage increases for teachers were ignored. Elia said he would take recommendations from Israelis responsible for each subject. In a formal speech, Atrash said, "It is part of my duty to welcome you today representing myself and the members of the municipal council, and I thank you for this initiative that I hope will be in the interests of the Beit Sahour residents."

The head of the 'civil administration' called, in Arabic, for an effort to "bridge the understanding between the peoples."

"I really appreciate the fact that Beit Sahour municipality is one of the first municipalities in the West Bank which asked me to visit," said Elia. "I consider the implications of this visit to be a victory for the correct path for opinion (which supports) cooperation with the civil administration. I, the head of the civil administration in Judea and Samaria, have come to improve your conditions and to listen to your individual and commmunity demands. I hope that this visit will be followed by other visits to Beit Sahour and other municipalities in the West Bank."

During the meeting, the head of the 'civil administration' agreed to cover the municipality's deficit and he gave the mayor a cheque for IS800,000, which Atrash accepted. The mayor demanded the release of Beit Sahour detainees and a license for the Women's Union in Beit Sahour to build a hospital. Elia turned down the requests. He said that the release of detainees is a security issue which is not part of his business, and that the plot on which the hospital would be built is opposite a military camp. Atrash said the hospital plan was now dead since the union could not afford to buy more land.

Elia agreed to return the ID cards of two Beit Sahour residents and approved three family reunion applications on the spot. One applicant was Awad Darwish, a member of the municipality, who applied for his brother to be allowed to return from his post as a teacher in Saudi Arabia. The head of the 'civil administration' also announced he would permit the mayor to travel to Jordan to bring the municipality's funds from Jordanian banks. Atrash immediately declared that he will travel to Jordan on May 23. Elia also agreed to allow the municipality to buy a garbage collection vehicle and to allow the secondary school for boys in the town to reopen. He said the

Public institutions in Beit Sahour denounced the actions of Mayor Hanna Atrash when he broke the national consensus not to meet with the 'civil administration' or invite its head to the municipality as he did, May 12.

Three members of the municipality boycotted the meeting and sessions were held by the workers union, Orthodox Club, Women's Society, Women's Work Committee and Catholic Youth Club denouncing the meeting.

It was also learnt that the mayor of Beit Sahour has given instructions that municipal services not be extended to any of the institutions that boycotted the meeting or denounced it. (Translation: Al Ittihad, May 19)

Shaka'aHarassed

MK Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality sent an urgent request to the Israeli Knesset demanding that border patrol guards stationed in front of Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a's house be immediately removed.

Toubi requested that the Israeli defence minister show reason why Shaka'a's visitors are forbidden to see him. He requested that the guards who harass Shaka'a, his family and friends be immediately removed and that this action not be repeated. (Translation: Al Ittihad)

Ramallah area during May 15 protests marking anniversary of the mass expulsion of Palestinians upon the establishment of the state of Israel. Above tyres burn in front of Khadoura camp, below stone barricades in Ramallah/SF

DEMONSTRATORS RAISE FLAGS, THROW STONES

May 15 Protests See Shootings, Curfews

Two Palestinians were shot and wounded, and a third injured from broken glass, during demonstrations in Nablus, marking the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, known to Palestinians as 'The Day of the Disaster.' Demonstrations also took place in Ramallah and al-Bireh.

Jamal Yusef Zaban, 21 from Burin, near Nablus was shot in the right leg after Israeli soldiers opened fire on a demonstrations of more than 1000 people. Abd al-Rahman Stitiyeh, 51, was shot in the chest and taken to Rafidya hospital for treatment. He was later reported to be in satisfactory condition. There were also unconfirmed reports of a third shooting, a 10-year-old child shot in the buttocks. A fourth Nabulsi, Khalil Sa'id Kharouf, 75, suffered head cuts from a shattered window. Israel Radio said the man was fleeing the site of the demonstration when he ran into a glass store front. Meanwhile, Israeli soldiers rounded up a number of residents after the demonstration, which involved Palestinian flag raising, and stoning of Israeli military vehicles which arrived to put down the protest.

In Ramallah, Israel Radio reported that several Israel cars had their windscreens broken by stones thrown by demonstrating youths. Meawhile classes were disrupted in most Ramallah schools.

In the Bethlehem area, Israeli soldiers erected roadblocks on the main Jerusalem-Hebron road, where ID cards of passengers were checked. A curfew was imposed on al-Azza refugee camp, near Bethlehem, following demonstrations.

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AGREEMENT SIGNED AMIDST PUPLIC UPROAR IN LEBANON

In two separate ceremonies in Kiryat Shmoneh settlement in the Galilee panhandle, and in Khaldeh, south of Beirut, Israeli and Lebanese government representatives signed the US-mediated conditional agreement, May 17, which will determine future Israeli-Lebanese relations. The signing ceremonies opened a split in Lebanese public opinion and prompted Syria to cancel any visit by US envoy Philip Habib.

The Khaldeh ceremony, where the Arabic and French drafts of the 12-article agreement were signed,was held under strict military guard. Reporters recording the event said that Israeli tanks closed all roads leading to Lebanon's Beach Hotel, where the signing took place. Lebanese army units surrounded the hotel, as the Lebanese and Israeli negotiating representatives, Antoine Fattal and David Kimche, along with the US state department's Morris Draper, were busy signing.

The agreement gave detailed classification of the 45-kilometre zone demanded by Israel specifying the number of Lebanese army personnel, and the type of weapons which can be maintained by the Lebanese government. It also contained details of the functions of joint supervisory committees which are to observe the implementation of the terms of the agreement. Secret annexes to the accords specify the status of separatist Saad Haddad, composition of joint Lebanese-Israeli patrols, security arrangements and the role of UNIFIL. These areas were generally outlined in the body of the agreement but details were kept away from public scrutiny.

As the Israeli, Lebanese, and American diplomats were celebrating the signing of the agreement demonstrations broke out on Lebanon's streets. In one Beirut demonstration a resident was shot and killed, and 12 others were wounded, when Lebanese police opened fire. There were also demonstrations in Ba'albak, in the Beqa'a valley, and Tripoli, where thousands of residents marched in the streets denouncing the agreement as "treason."

A coalition opposed to the agreement with Israel was formed consisting of the Lebanese Communist Party, the Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Ba'ath-Socialist Party, the Syrian Arab Nationalist Party and a number of public figures, such as former President Suleiman Frangieh , former Prime Minister Rashid Karami, and former Tourism Minister Marwan Hamadi. The new coalition submitted a memorandum to Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, May 18, condemning the agreement, and calling it a "separate peace agreement." They called on the Lebanese people to rally against attempts to divide the country. They spelled out three points which it considered non-negotiable: maintaining national consensus, adherence to full Lebanese sovereignty on all Lebanese territory and preserving Lebanon's Arab ties. The memorandum went on to say the agreement violates each point.

Arab Reactions

A few hours after the agreement was signed, *Agence France Presse* reported that the Syrian army closed off the Beirut-Damascus highway and all other roads linking the two capitals. The unofficial blockade was followed by an official Syrian announcement that they do not intend to receive the US Special Envoy to the Middle East, Philip Habib, who remained in the area to continue the work of Secretary of State George Shultz.

In a statement distributed by the official Syrian news agency, May 18, they said they do not have anything to discuss with Habib. This is the first time the Syrian government has refused to accept an American envoy.

Opposition to the accord also came from South Yemen, where President Ali Nasser Mohammad described it as an unconditional surrender. Mohammad announced his country's support for the Lebanese National Movement, Syria and the PLO. Algeria also voiced opposition.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Jordanian government-controlled media welcomed the agreement as "the only choice before Lebanon." The Jordanian government, however, kept a low profile in its support of the accord.

Israel's Gains

The immediate winner was Israel. Shortly after the accord was signed, Israel and the US signed a secret agreement of understanding. According to *The New York Times*, the agreement is an assurance from the US administration to the Israeli government of its adherence to the terms of the Israeli-Lebanese accord.

Furthermore, US President Ronald Reagan lifted the ban on providing Israel with 75 F-16 fighters. In a press conference held in Washington following the signing of the accord Reagan said that his decision to lift the ban will be taken to the defence department and Congress for approval.

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel in army fatigues

30 ISRAELIS INJURED IN LEBANON

Over 30 Israeli soldiers were injured, according to official reports, in military operations against the Israeli army in South Lebanon, May 10-15. In the Beqa'a the military situation remained tense as Israeli leaders continued their threats against Syria.

In the largest of the week's attacks, 16 soldiers were wounded, May 13, when an explosive charge went off under their vehicle as it was driving along a dirt road near Kufr Mashki, in the east of Lebanon. On May 16, the Israeli military spokesman announced that one soldier was wounded south of Sidon again by a contact explosive device.

In a broadcast of the Voice of Palestine, May 18, an Israeli military vehicle was reported destroyed by a landmine planted by a resistance member on a Sidon street. The radio said that all those in the vehicle were killed. This report was not confirmed by the Israeli military spokesman's office.

Al Talia weekly in Jerusalem published unconfirmed reports that the Israeli chief-of-staff Moshe Levy narrowly escaped death after concluding a meeting with Israel's local client in the south, Saad Haddad, at Marjayoun. No details of the incident were given.

The Lebanese middle-of-the-road daily *Al Nahar* reported last week, that a net of Israeli Mossad agents are carrying out terrorist operations in South Lebanon. The paper quoted a Lebanese known as Ahmad Jarar, who was arrested by the Lebanese security services last week in connection with several attacks against Palestinian refugees.

In line with the continuing escalation of tension in the Beqa'a valley, the Israeli defence minister, Moshe Arens, announced, last week, that "Israel has taken all necessary measures to confront any Syrian moves in the Golan Heights and in Lebanon."

Soviet Official Reaffirms Commitment to Syria

"Israel must know that if it attacks Syria and the Palestinians in Lebanon, the Soviet Union will be standing by Syria." This is the message the head of the three-member Soviet delegation which arrived in the country, May 13, had for its hosts.

Head delegate Khatatchtrov, who was speaking at the celebration of the 38th anniversary of the victory over Nazism, organised by the Israeli Communist Party in the 'Red Forest,' near Jerusalem, indicated that a defence and mutual cooperation pact binds the Soviet Union with Syria. The Soviet Union, he said, will be fully committed to this treaty in case of aggression by Israel on Syria.

He accused the USA of planning to "explode the situation on the borders of the Soviet Union and it is in the interest of the Soviet Union to curb the US's destructive plans and attempts."

Salem Jubran, deputy editor of the Israeli Communist Party organ, *Al Ittihad*, told *Al Fajr* that during the delegation visit to the newspaper offices for extended talks, "everyone got the impression that the Soviet Union is serious about its intention to stand by Syria on the practical level."

The delegation visited Haifa and Acre and in the middle of the week a trip was organised to the West Bank.

Police Ban Unity Meeting

A new initiative to unite various nationalist organisations, including Abna' al-Balad, with the Communist Party and leading individuals was thwarted last week with the police banning of the initial meeting which had been scheduled to be held in Nazareth on May 13.

The Nazareth police chief declared the meeting illegal, questioning potential participants and threatening mass arrests if the meeting were held.

The meeting was banned on the basis of a ministry of defence decree which dissolved the Council of National Guidance in 1981 as a threat to Israel's national security. While the council did not include representatives of the Communist Party, the new initiative has been dismissed by the military authorities as an attempt to reconstitute the Council.

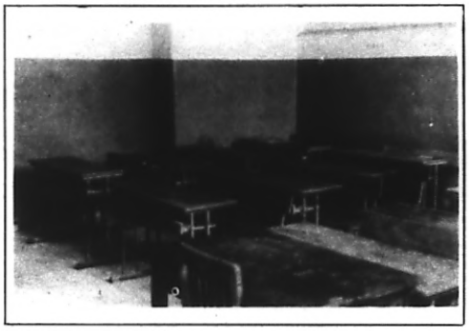
A spokesperson for Abna' al-Balad has denied that this was simply a meeting of the Council of National Guidance: "The policy of the government is to forbid nationalist groups the opportunity to unite with the Communist Party because this would represent an even stronger opposition to the government within the Palestinian villages."

BZU STUDENT BEATEN IN PRISON

"Nayef Sweitat, head of the Bir Zeit University student council, was summoned to police headquarters in Jenin, May 19. When he arrived he was arrested and thrown into Fara'a prison.

"At Fara'a detention centre, Sweitat had his hand broken by a security guard. Sweitat's lawyer demanded his release on bail and threatened to go to court. (lawyer Felicia) Langer claims that the authorities are afraid to bring Sweitat to court because of his broken hand." (Translation: Al-Ittihad)

Above, Women Teachers Training Centre, below empty classroom at Hashimiyeh School. Both were closed following May 15 demonstrations in the Ramallah area/JN



School Closures Follow May 15 Demonstrations

Israeli military authorities ordered the closure of two secondary schools and the Women's Teachers Training Centre for one month, which is the end of this scholastic year, in Ramallah, May 16, after demonstrations marking the establishment of the state of Israel.

Demonstrations on that day started early in the morning. Students from the Government Teachers Training Centre, the Women teachers training centre, and the Ramallah secondary school, which neighbour each other, took to the streets. They erected barriers in the middle of the street of burning tyres, stones, and scrap metal. Demonstrators hoisted Palestinian flags. When Israeli military jeeps arrived to put down the protest, students showered them with stones and the troops could not get through the barriers. Some reports said that an Israeli military car was also stoned.

According to *Al Mithaq* biweekly, an Egged bus, and a military jeep, both carrying soldiers, were also stoned. The bus had its windscreen shattered and one passenger was wounded. Israeli soldiers responded by firing tear gas and bullets in the air.

By the time soldiers got through the blocks, most of the students had left. They did arrest several people, however. Eyewitnesses said that the soldiers beat up the gate-keepers at the Men's Teachers Training Centre, after finding it deserted. They also submitted an order to the principals of the Women's Teachers Training Centre and the Ramallah secondary school, both government-run, closing them until the end of the scholastic year, according to *Al Mithaq*.

At Hashimiyeh school, which is located next to the Ramallah police station, classes did not convene. Students chanted nationalist slogans and stoned passing Israeli military vehicles, which disrupted traffic. When squads of Israeli soldiers arrived students dispersed, and the school principal was handed a military order from the Ramallah area military governor ordering the school closed for one month. Some teachers were also given forced work transfers to village schools. This measure made a precondition for receiving their salaries during the month of closure.

The closure of the two schools and the Teachers Training Centre, which comes at the end of the scholastic year, prevents the students from taking their final exams. It is not clear how *tawjihi* (matriculation) students will arrange to take their exams.

Many believe that the demonstrations were triggered by events in Nablus. One day earlier, three Nablus residents were shot and injured during demonstrations.

Since the school closures, Israeli patrols have been scrupulously checking identity cards of people in the Ramallah manara area. Men aged 20-35 are particularly singled out for harassment.

PROGRESSIVE STUDENT FRONT TAKES BETHLEHEM COUNCIL SEATS

More than 850 Bethlehem University students turned out for the annual elections for the nine-seat student council, May 13. The Progressive Student Front (PSF), one of the two competing blocs won six seats, while the others were taken by the Student Youth Movement (SYM).

At 8:00 pm, the election results were announced. Nidal Abu Zuluf, who was the PSF candidate for president, received 457 votes, outpo"ing Fayez al-Fasfus, the SYM candidate who received 330 votes. At the end, the four administrative seats on the council, the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, were all won by the PSF while the SYM won three of the five clubs attached to the council. The three clubs are the athletic club, the art club, and the social club. The folklore club and the cultural club were won by the PSF.

The day before the elections, a supervisory committee made final preparations for the elections. Names of candidates for both student blocs were announced, and rules for the elections were set. At the meeting the two blocs presented their election programmes. The two blocs' programmes were very similiar. Both groups said they plan to increase scholarships to needy students, improve the university's cafeteria, and develop stronger national relations in the institutions.

Commenting on the election results, Nidal Abu Zuluf said that the results were satisfactory to all groups. "We have now, and for the first time, all student blocs represented on the council," he said.

Commenting on the way elections took place, a western educated Palestinian who watched the process, said that he really felt that the elections are popular. "It is not like western elections, where great efforts go to publicity and false promises," he went on. He described the four hours from closing the polls to announcing the results as "the most tense hours," but said that all students remained calm, "and not even one argument was heard."

WB Teachers Underpaid

The General Committee for Government School Teachers in the West Bank sent a letter to the Israeli military liaison officer in charge of education, May 17, complaining about inadequate salaries. They also issued a press release detailing harassment of teachers.

The committee explained that the 13.5% pay increase they received recently came at a time when prices had risen by 32 percent.

According to estimates by the (unofficial) teachers union, teachers should receive an average salary of IS20,600. It presently stands at IS13,150.

This is the fourth letter sent to the Israeli liaison officer in the West Bank on the subject of teacher salaries since December 1981. They informed the officer that a Palestinian family of six needs IS21,950 just for basic necessities.

AMERICAN OFFICIAL MEETS DHEISHEH MUKHTARS

An American vice-consul met several mukhtars of Dheisheh refugee camp at the local UNRWA office May 15 to discuss conditions in the camp and the political situation in the region. Four mukhtars attended the meeting. One, Mohammad Abd al-Fattah Shaheen, was appointed before 1967, the others by the Israeli authorities after the 1967 war.

UNRWA officials downplayed the meeting, calling it "unimportant" and "just an ordinary visit to the people of the camp." Talal al-Habab, the UNRWA director of Dheisheh camp, said that he received a telephone call from UNRWA headquarters notifying him of the visit of the US consulate official. The meeting was not well-planned, said al-Habab.

A member of the youth social centre who attended the meeting told *Al Fajr* that "the meeting serves the long-term policy of the US, which attempts to bypass the supportive attitude of the masses in the occupied territories towards the PLO."

INFLATION RATE REACHES RECORD HIGH

Israel's inflation rate for April was 13.3 percent, a new record high, according to official government statistics released this week. Figures for the first four months of 1983 predict a 160 percent inflation rate for the year. The Israeli public responded by taking US $250 million out of savings accounts. Much of the cash was converted into dollars and stashed at home.

Israeli government economists are stumped as to the reason for the record rise. They blame some commodities and claim the figures give strength to their policy of trying to cut government expenditure. The Manufacturers Association, locked in a bitter struggle with the government on export subsidies, says the treasury has squandered millions of dollars — thus feeding inflation. Israeli unions say they will be negotiating higher wages.

The response of the public converting shekels to dollars — is expected to push inflation even higher.

For the last few years Israel's annual inflation has hovered around the 130 percent mark. Since September 1982, the treasury has been implementing policies designed to reduce monthly inflation to 5 percent.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 159, May 20, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	24
Number of articles totally censored	12
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	8

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AN INTERVIEW WITH HANNA ATRASH

"Political Conditions Have Changed"

After the visit of the head of the 'civil administration', Shlomo Elia, to Beit Sahour, May 12, *Al Fajr* interviewed Mayor Hanna Atrash.

Q.Did you ask the head of the 'civil administration' to visit Beit Sahour?

A.No. Israeli authorities started to arrange this visit a long time ago. Three months ago, the military governor in Bethlehem summoned me and arranged for a visit of the head of the 'civil administration'. Later the visit was cancelled. On April 7, I was summoned to Beit El (Israeli occupation headquarters) where I presented the demands of the Beit Sahour municipality. On April 19, I met Shlomo Elia at Beit El and the visit was arranged.

Q. Did the 'civil administration's'head make a visit to you a precondition for meeting the demands of the municipality?

A. No, but he indicated his intention to visit the municipality and I welcomed him.

Q. Do you think that cooperation with the ' civil administration is in violation of last year's decision of the municipalities not to cooperate with the "civil administration'?

A. In my opinion, a municipality cannot work in a vacuum without getting support. This happens in all countries of the world. We are still under occupation, whether it is called 'civil' or 'military' administration. There is a difference between cooperation and collaboration.

Q. But you are against autonomy. When it was first declared, you told me that the 'civil administration' and 'autonomy' do not meet the rights of the Palestinian people.

A. Up to now the authorities did not apply autonomy and if they attempt to, we will express our attitude.

Q. Did any member of the council oppose the visit?

A. Yes, three members: Khalil Khair, the deputy mayor, and Attallah Rashmawi and Hanna Jaraiseh members.

Q. Is there any relation between your cooperation with the 'civil administration' and the meeting which was attended by 10 municipalities in the West Bank in Nablus (a few weeks ago)?

A. I told our colleagues that I want to cooperate with the 'civil administration'.

Q. But did you not sign a statement in the meeting and assign Hilmi Hanoun (the mayor of Tulkarm) to send a letter to the 'brothers outside'? Did you get a reply?

A. I do not know about the letter, and I want to say that the (political) conditions have changed.

Uncovering the Cover-up

While Palestinians are resigned to the fact that they will probably never know exactly who was responsible for the 1980 assassination attempts on three West Bank mayors, the Israeli authorities seem not so sure. The trial of two Kiryat Arba settlers, accused of destroying evidence — a fuseless bomb — strongly suspected to be linked to the assassination attempts, was declared a 'secret' hearing this week after the testimony of the chief state witness.

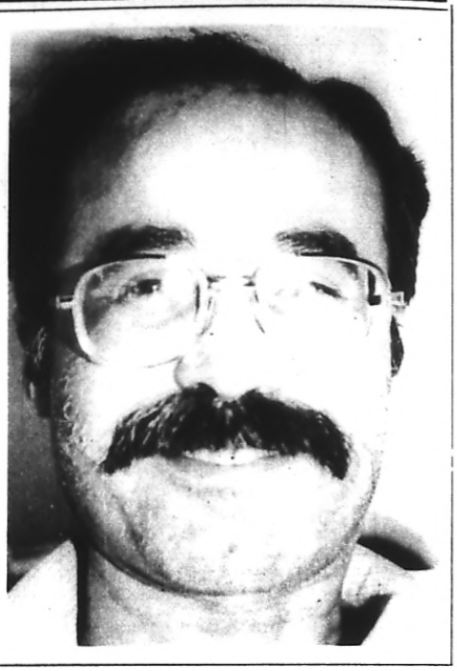
Electrician Moshe Yulio told Jerusalem District Court, May 9, how he found the explosive charge hidden in the fuse box of the settlement's main office building one year ago. He had been undertaking electrical repairs when he found a 'nylon package' under wooden floorboards. "I took it out," he said, "and found a packet wrapped in newspapers. I took off the paper and immediately understood it was an explosive charge." It was two blocks of Israeli army dynamite wired for electrical activation. The newspapers dated from just prior to the assassination attempts in June 1980.

According to a *Jerusalem Post* report of the testimony, Yulio said he took the charge up to the council chairman, Zev Friedman, and Moshe Rosenthal, the settlement's top security officer. "Everyone agreed it was a 'slick' (a term for an arms cache, used by Zionists during the British Mandate)." He said he suggested calling the police but Rosenthal told him the matter was "in hand." "It is being dealt with. It is a matter for the security services, not the police... as we have reached the conclusion that possibly this is connected to the bombings against the mayors... you can be sure I'll inform the Security Services."

The state charges that Friedman and Rosenthal destroyed the charge instead of reporting it. Formal charges are illegal possession of weapons and deliberate destruction of the explosive charge to prevent its use in a legal proceeding.

West Bank observers believe that internal political rivalries among the settlement's Gush Emunim leadership may be involved in uncovering the cover-up.

It is not known why the case is being tried in Jerusalem rather than a local Arab court.



Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali), a Rafah resident who finished serving a 15-year jail term, has been exiled to the Dahniye Beduin area near the Israeli-Egyptian border. Shahin is not allowed to meet with anyone, including his family, or to express his political opinions. The exile extends until August 11 and can be renewed; it follows town arrest restrictions placed on the ex-political prisoner for the past year. (Translation Al Ittihad)/SF

HEAD OF INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE RESIGNS POST

Settler Attacks A Daily Occurrence

With Israeli settler attacks on unarmed Palestinians, or vandalism of property, now an almost daily occurrence, more complaints are heard of collusion between settlers, the military and politicians to protect the guilty. For reasons beyond our control we must excerpt these reports from The Jerusalem Post.

"Deputy Attorney General Yehudit Karp has resigned her position as chairman of the Justice Ministry committee investigating anti-Arab vigilantism by Jewish settlers in the West Bank... according to knowledgable sources she gave up the job because no action had been taken for the past year on recommendations made by her committee...

"*The Jerusalem Post* has learned that the committee report roundly condemns vigilantism, intervention by politicians on behalf of arrested suspects, and the dependence of the police on the military government...

"Justice Ministry spokesman Yitzhak Feinberg denied... that the report has been shelved... Ivtzan's (Police Inspector General) spokesman Moshe Tzur has denied the report even exists at all...

"Among the documents prepared by the committee was a list of incidents in which nobody has been arrested — or charged involving identified Jewish settlers acting against West Bank Arabs. (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, 12.5.83)

"The security forces are investigating the Fist of Defence, an organisation of West Bank settlers who have taken credit for a series of attacks on Arab property — including vandalising automobiles, smashing windows in homes, and possibly exploding a bomb outside the Hebron mosque — at a time when the national police and officials connected with the justice system in the West Bank speak openly about "two systems of justice" in the territories...

"Former Jerusalem district attorney Michael Kirsh said yesterday that "two systems" indeed exist in the territories, and like senior police officials — prohibited from identifying themselves because of the political nature of the subject — he indicated strongly that there are political echelons that encourage the military in the territories to turn a blind eye to vigilantism...

RAMALLAH — Israeli settlers assaulted a resident of A'amari refugee camp, May 18, while he was driving past the Jerusalem settlement of Neve Ya'acov. The man, Zakaria Abu Adas, was admitted to Haddassah Hospital, West Jerusalem, for treatment of his injuries. The settlers completely destroyed the car in which Abu Adas was travelling. No one was arrested. No curfew was declared. (Translation: Al Fajr, 19.5.83)

"Although the police are hesitant to admit it, they concede they are "practically incompetent" to act as an investigative force in the territories, because ultimately, all authority resides with the Israel Defence Forces..." (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, 16.5.83)

"The Justice Ministry report prepared by the deputy Attorney General Yehudit Karp on anti-Arab Jewish vigilantism in the West Bank names Knesset members who have intervened in police and military investigations,

"In separate statements, yesterday the Justice Ministry and the Defence Ministry entered into a struggle over who is responsible for bringing to justice vigilantes who have allegedly been vandalising Arab property, conducting physical attacks on local Arabs, and in at least one instance, exploding a bomb outside the Hebron mosque.

"A Defence Ministry statement said that Defence Minister Moshe Arens will ask the chief of staff "to examine those parts of the (Karp commission) report pertaining to the Israel Defence Forces. Most of the report has been turned over to the Justice and Interior Ministries, which are responsible for the police.

"An unofficial source involved in investigating Jewish vigilantism in the administered territories said yesterday that the Defence Ministry statement is "a joke."

" 'Obviously,' the source said, ' the defence minister doesn't know the law and that the absolute authority in the territories is the military... '

"A senior police source yesterday confirmed to *The Post* that intervention by politicians into police investigations has occurred in issues involving Jewish settlers.

" 'Since it takes place in the territories, they intervene with the army,' which essentially 'calls off' the police inquiry, the source said.

" 'Somebody calls up and says this boy has a good Jewish heart You shouldn't bother him, and then the military government steps back, taking us with it,' added the source." (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, 17.5.83)

The Dawn

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The Right Step

An official Syrian spokesman announced, May 18, that Philip Habib, the US special envoy to the Middle East is not welcome in Syria because there is nothing to discuss with him. Habib was described as enemy number one of the Arab peoples.

For years and years, and all through the period of the current Arab-Zionist conflict, the US administration, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, has played with the Middle East on its terms. Dozens of plots were knitted with its allies and puppets in the area in order to tighten its control and domination. More than one battle was waged against the Arab peoples: in 1956, against Egypt; in 1967 against Egypt Syria and Jordan; in 1970 against the Palestinian people in Jordan and from 1975 through 1982 against the Palestinian people in Lebanon.

US involvement, whether direct or indirect, in this on-going war has escalated in its physical and moral aspects. aid to Israel since its establishment in the heart of the Middle East increased yearly until it exceeded US $3 billion in 1983. Financial support to any of the Arab-puppet regimes substantially increases as the regime in question plays the US-designed role. The US throws all its weight behind Israel's aggressions in the area on all international platforms and has stopped even trying to keep some part of its face clean for the benefit of its Middle Eastern puppets.

Yet, US interests and envoys and diplomats, continued to sit on the VIP list. All it took until May 18 was a declaration in Washington that 'Mr US representative' is visiting the Middle East, and the borders would be open wide, roads planted with flowers and palaces smiling. US magic was so sparkling that the Arab rulers' eyes had no power to do anything but glitter happily; and the Arab peoples' eyes can only shed warm tears.

On May 18, 1983, the oppressed peoples - Palestinian and Syrian – under Israeli control applaud the Syrian government and people for taking the first step on the right path. In their hearts and minds they say: 'Carry on, you are the winners as long as the solid base you're standing on is that of the united oppressed."

May 15

May 15, 1983 is the 35th aniversary of the Palestinian people's disaster and the creation of the state of Israel. It comes at a time when the Israeli-American open attack has escalated with the blessing of the US's Arab puppets in order to impose their plans and conditions on the area thus preventing the Palestinian people from achieving its national right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, its sole-legitimate representative.

Despite the blow given to the latest of these plans the Reagan plan the US is still insisting on imposing it through the affiliate Arab regimes under various headings including amending its roots while still depriving the Palestinian people of independent representation. The US is also imposing a surrenderist agreement on Lebanon thus threatening the security of all the Arab nations, Lebanon's sovereignty and the Palestinian community in Lebanon.

On this 35th anniversary, the Palestinian people reaffirms its resolve to struggle against the plans of the US, Israel and the Arab reactionaries until their defeat and the achievement of its rights.

INTERVIEW WITH RASHID KHALIDI

Lessons of The Invasion

If Israel wanted to strike at Palestinians they had to go all the way...

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

This is the second of a two part interview, the first of which we were unable to publish, with Rashid Khalidi, an American University of Beirut professor of modern history and political science. This part of the interview touches mainly on the Israeli invasion of 1982 the effects of the war on the Palestinian community in general and lessons Dr Khalidi believes have to be learned.

Q: Was the 1982 invasion of Lebanon inevitable or could the PLO have done something to stop it?

Khalidi. . . . In view of the fighting and the results of the summer of 1981, the invasion was inevitable. There was no way Israel was going to allow the continuation of a situation in which Israel was prevented from extending its power without limitations in any direction. The sort of "mini-deterrent" the Palestinians exhibited in 1981 showed that Israel could not extend or project its power at its will. Israel had to either watch a full-scale major invasion or shut up and accept the fact that the Palestinians could sometimes define the terms of the conflict. This was what bothered the Israeli leaders, and not the terrifying Palestinian military machine. Zeev Schiff of *Haaretz* put his finger on this fact. If the Israelis wanted to do anything they had to go all the way... In fact, from the moment that (Ariel) Sharon came to the ministry of defence, it became clear that the invasion was coming.

Now what the PLO could have done to prevent it, well, that had nothing to do with Israel really. The only thing that the PLO could have done had to do with the Lebanese. (It was in terms) of improving relations with the Lebanese in preparation for this inevitable blow.

Q: Can you please articulate this point?

Khalidi: It is all pretty obvious. The Palestinians in the Arab countries are in an anomalous position. They are members of another group of people which has a national representation and yet they have to be subject to the sovereignty and rules of the host country. It is a very delicate situation for anybody, such as that of the Algerians in Morocco and Tunisia. It is a delicate situation for any national liberation movement operating on another country's soil. (This is made more) complicated by the fact that the Israelis are very aware of the sensitivities of Palestinian-Lebanese relations, and they very much exploited these relations. (Besides,) Lebanon was particularly difficult because of its peculiarly divided internal nature, and now the Israelis themselves are having a taste of it and getting themselves into the mud. The Israelis are managing to turn everybody in the country against them -- in a matter of a few months.

For the Palestinians just before the war, the situation ended up being very difficult. The Israelis kept pounding away, knowing that sooner or later the Lebanese would have to get fed up: and then would go and give it to the Palestinians... this is an inherently difficult situation.

Q: How much of this was inherent in the situation and how much was the Palestinians' doing, which could have been avoided?

Khalidi: Well, a lot of it could have been avoided, frankly. I don't think that all that could have been done was done. . . there was a kind of inevitability to it. However, as long as there was an armed Palestinian presence in Lebanon which was gaining political stature, Israel was going to attack, and try to turn the Lebanese against the Palestinians. After all, the Lebanese were paying and still are paying and suffering.

Q: What in your estimate were Israel's objectives behind the invasion and how many of those were achieved?

Khalidi: There were several long-term and short-term ones. The short-range ones were to drive the Palestinians out of the south and the PLO out of Beirut. In both of those objectives Israel succeeded. These, however, were linked to longer-range objectives. The Israelis not only wanted to uproot the military, but also to uproot its infrastructure, for they understood that that was rooted in the socio-political economic infrastructure. This was linked to a long-term objective, which was to strike a fatal blow at any independent Palestinian nationalism. They wanted to destroy the idea of Palestine, a Palestinian entity in exile, as well as wanting to turn Lebanon into a satellite state. In both of these objectives they have failed.

The fact that the PLO, on June 11-12 when it was scheduled to collapse, did not surrender, did not go out with handkerchiefs raised, with their shoes off; the fact that they fought them for three months, which is almost as long as all Arab armies fought Israel in all the wars, if you leave aside the War of Attrition, means the Israelis fell short of their target here. The Palestinian military apparatus left intact, Israel couldn't destroy the Palestinian para-state, nor did they destroy Palestinian nationalism. This was a major defeat, and their determination to get the Lebanese into a relation of subjugation or subservience was defeated also. The Israelis, in fact, succeeded better than anybody could have dreamed in unifying the Lebanese against them.

Q: As a Palestinian and an intellectual, you witnessed the progress of the war from beginning to end. How did all this affect you, and what made the defenders of Beirut stand and fight, despite the obvious Israeli military superiority and a ratio of at least six Israeli soldiers to every resister?

Khalidi: (After expressing awareness of the Israeli censorship in Jerusalem) . . . all those who fought in Lebanon and Beirut showed how much could be done in standing up to the Israelis if people were serious. In Beirut there were about 20,000 armed men, many not professional fighters, while there were about 125,000 Israeli soldiers at one point in Lebanon. Despite all of this and three

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OPINION

Al Fajr invites our readers to submit letters, opinions and articles. Contributions must be signed, but names can be withheld upon request.

FASCISM AND RACISM ARE THE PRODUCTS OF 'WESTERN CULTURE'

by Assaf Adiv

"Baboons driven amuck," "Fanatics" -- these were the words which Israeli journalist Amnon Dankner chose to describe Oriental Jews in his recent article "Ain't got no sister," which aroused a real storm in the Israeli political community.

In a series of articles, the first of which appeared in his regular column in *Haaretz* (February 18, 1983), he declared that in the aftermath of the hand grenade that was thrown at a "Peace Now" demonstration in Jerusalem (which killed demonstrator Emil Greensweig) he reached the "courageous conclusion" that the time has come to say the truth about Oriental Jews and open an all-out war against them.

Dankner, like many others, and we among them, was deeply shocked from the fascist attack on the "Peace Now" demonstration. But instead of drawing conclusions from this cruel affair concerning his attitude toward Begin and the Lebanon war, he turns his arrows in a totally different direction. Dankner has no doubt about who organised the attack, who threw the grenade, and what is the source of violence and fascist terrorism in Israel: the Oriental Jews...

"Who were those who threatened the demonstrators," he writes, "who were those who prevented medical treatment -- all descendents from Arab countries." And as for the reason for the police cooperation with the fascist goons: "So let everyone whisper it in backrooms -- most of the policemen are Oriental Jews. I will say it in the open." (*HaOlam Hazeh*, March 9, 1983)

And, like every racist, Dankner, who represents many others according to himself and to his defenders, has a theoretical justification for his arguments -- and here it is: "There are those here who are the bearers of western culture and those who are the bearers of a sub-culture, or the non-culture of the Arabs. A huge mass of descendents from Arab countries exist here who refuse to integrate and receive encouragement and justifications from those who claim that there is somethig authentic about them." (*HaOlam Hazeh*, March 9, 1983)

Dankner's conclusion is clear. He is tired of sitting with them and having a dialogue. Nor will he take the suitcase and leave. He will stay here and fight. But "this won't be a brothers' war (civil war)," he determines (*Haaretz*, February 18, 1983) and "not because there will be no war, but because it will not be waged between brothers... they are not my brothers."

Exemplary Humanistic Society

Israel is a Western society, declares Dankner, and whoever refuses to resign himself to it, let him leave: "It was destined by the first *aliyahs* (religious immigration) that this will be a Western society... The ideological and spiritual climate of the society that was being created in Eretz Israel with the beginning of the modern 'Return to Zion' movement, was receptive to European culture and values and not to those of the Orient." (*Haaretz*, Februaty 25, 1983).

Indeed, it is true that in the highest echelons of the state there are two people who represent Western culture, that of the first *aliyahs* and the agricultural settlement in Kfar Malal and Tel Adashim... their names are Rafael Eitan (former chief-of-staff) and Ariel Sharon (former defence minister). They, god forbid, came not from Morocco or Yemen. They were not raised on "hospitality, the contrast between mother and father, and a beautiful patriarchal tradition," which Dankner detests so much and blames for all the ills of the Israeli society.

The PLO represents the uprising of the East to defend its rights from being trampled on by the racist imperialist West. This East, Dankner can't stand, and for that reason the Orientals, even if they are Jews are not his brothers -- they resemble the PLO.

Above, Jewish immigrants from Morocco arrive in Haifa in the early 50s. Right-wing Israeli students gather to expel PLO supporters from Hebrew University, right./LR

They, the *Sabras*, together with Begin and Shamir, the Ashkenazi Poles, are responsible for Deir Yassin, Qibya, Sabra and Shatila -- but surely all these don't justify going so far as declaring a war against them, all this is not as base as their "big crime": "Begin did something terrible: he gave legitimacy to those amongst them who want to integrate into the area." (*HaOlam Hazeh*, March 9, 1983) It is a fact today that Israel is a Western society. But exactly how was the Oriental culture of the Arab Palestinian people, who have been living here for generations, repelled from the holy land?

Is there any connection between the violent rejection of the Oriental culture by the Zionist colonisers, and the violence of the Israeli society that lives by its swords? Dankner will not answer this question. For him reality is simple: violence, fanaticism, and barbarism all come from the East and have to be fought. Imperialism, Hitler's racist doctrine, Auschwitz, Fascism, Hiroshima, "bringing Vietnam back to the stone age," apartheid -- all these products of what is labeled Western culture have, according to Dankner, nothing to do with the issue. His reality is a simple one -- the West is Freud, Marx and Heine; the East is blood revenge and primitiveness.

I Am No Racist

Dankner is especially angered by the accusation that he is a racist. Already, in his first article, he answers it in advance and asks: "Where the hell are you living? Am I a racist or are they?"

In another article, he sharply attacks: "Why is it that when I and the rest of the Ashkenazis were attacked and besmirched collectively, when we were all called, in a generalised manner, oppressors, humiliators, tramplers, why didn't you raise your voice then?" he asks his critics.

Don't you dare, heaven forbid, call Dankner or his friends racists. This is blasphemy. Isn't he ready to accept into his society anyone who is willing to integrate into it? and "there are even some Oriental Jews who accept Western culture." But racism, dear Mr. Dankner, is not only a matter of theory and ideology, but first of all and above all a question of existence and rights.

And if your are ready to admit that in the 50's you grew up in a house from which an Arab family was expelled, and that at the same time someone else lived in a *ma'abra* (transit camp) while you were enjoying a warm and comfortable house -- maybe you can explain if anything at all has changed from that time. You are still living in a warm and comfortable house in northern Tel Aviv. The Palestinian family which you expelled and from whom you expropriated is still living in a refugee camp, and the transit camp dwellers who came from Morocco, Iraq, or Yemen live in those neglected blocks of the so-called "development towns" or in southern Tel Aviv.

In the Israel of 1983, the Palestinian has no way of advancing or living a decent life, just because he is a Palestinian; and the Oriental Jews occupy the lower columns in the statistics of income, education, housing, and the upper columns of illiteracy, crime and drugs. The racism of the Israeli society concerning the East, and everything connected to Arabs, their culture and existence needs no proof after Sabra and Shatila and the "two-legged animals" and "drugged cockroaches in bottles." Anyone who continues to shout, "I have nothing of the romance of the East in me, I am no Lawrence of Arabia, I will have no more hooliganism and primitiveness" as Danker does (*HaOlam Hazeh*, March 9, 1983) does the best of services to Begin, Sharon and Eitan and to those who threw the hand grenade on Emil Greensweig.

So blind has Dankner become that he enables a corrupt general who was the ruler of the West Bank until recently, and the liason official with Bashir Gemayel before that, to wear the mask of a liberal in comparison with himself. About his article in *Haaretz*, writes Brigadier General (in reserve) Binyamin Ben Eliezer, and justly so: "And if we are 'primitive' and 'humanists', it would be interesting to know what is Dankner's opinion about those with whom we are supposed to live in peace. It is useful to remind him that we live in the Middle East..." (March 4, 1983)

Who More Resembles The PLO?

Twice in his article Dankner blames the Orientals for something which it seems he regards as the worst crime: "You are like the PLO. You, ladies and gentlemen, from Begin's phalanxes, resemble the PLO much more than you do us -- we who you daily label in market places, in demonstrations and in petition stands -- PLO, PLO..."

Indeed, with defenders on petitions and demonstrations against the war like Dankner, we need no enemies. (By the way, when did anyone see Dankner lately in a demonstration of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, or *Yesh Gvul* (There is a Limit) which he repeatedly mentions as if he were one of their chief activists?)

But let us inquire for a moment, from where does the enthusiasm to use this rightist slogan "You look like PLO" come? For the rightists it obviously serves to deepen the anti-Palestinian racist propaganda, saying the PLO are murderers and you, leftist, want to negotiate with murderers -- so you are like the PLO.

When Dankner uses these words they acquire an additional meaning. The PLO is a national organisation of an Eastern Arab people, its leaders speak Arabic, wear the *kafiyah* and like Fairuz, Um Kulthum and Farid al-Atrash, and not Arik Einstein and Hava Alberstein. The PLO also fights against the existing order which is so comfortable to Dankner in his warm house, oblivious to the rest of the world.

The PLO represents the uprising of the East to defend its rights from being trampled on by the racist imperialist West. This East, Dankner can't stand and for that reason the Orientals, even if they are Jews, are not his brothers -- they resemble the PLO.

Had Dankner been that enlightened, progressive and courageous person he claims to be, he could have joined those few Israelis who turn against the chauvinist and racist campaign which is

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Nablus Samaritan Community: Surrounded by Settlements

by Daoud Kuttab

The small Samaritan community spent the two months prior to Passover on top of Mount Jerzim, near Nablus, preparing for their annual feast, celebrated this year on April 26. The ancient sect, which split from Judaism over 3000 years ago, held its traditional activities on the normally peaceful mount overlooking Nablus, but they were overshadowed this year by Israeli government settlement activities. The mount, which Samaritans consider the holiest of all sites — the place where Abraham took his son Isaac for sacrifice — and its environs will be transformed into the Israeli settlement of *Shekhem Elite* (Upper Nablus).

Driving up to the Samaritans' holy mountain, on the day of the feast, there's no surface change from the same drive a year ago. The obsolete stone-grinding machines and the narrow winding roads stand unchanged — new roads have been opened up elsewhere for the settlement. Entering the Samaritans' hill quarter on their holiest of days, visitors are greeted with banners written in Arabic, English and Hebrew. The language spoken by Samaritans in daily life is Arabic. For religious ceremonies they use an ancient Aramaic dialect. The sacrificial altar site, where at 5:30 pm the Samaritan high priest will supervise the slaughter of lambs, is being constructed. The military authorities, who show up every year at this time to 'uphold law and order', are building bleachers overlooking the ceremony site. They receive in return the majority of the invitation cards for the ceremonies. Journalists, diplomats and soldiers will be present during the evening event.

Boys dressed in their best suits and girls in their most colourful dresses walk around, while near every house a lamb is tethered to a pole, receiving its last meal before the evening slaughter. Twenty-eight unblemished lambs are produced and at the command of High Priest Pinhas Ben Matziliah, 85, are killed in view of the curious audience and TV cameras.

The ancient Pentateuch of the Samaritans is housed in the synagogue in Nablus.

The men of the 300-strong Samaritan community were making the rounds of the community's religious leaders when I reached the home of Afif Najji, a Samaritan priest. The red-bearded priest was busy counselling one of the community when I arrived. Visitors sat around discussing problems. "One outcast tried to get a Muslim *qadi* to convert him late one night, but he refused," one tells a friend from Holon, where there is a Samaritan community of 200.

A woman walks in and kisses the hands of the elders. They slip her a few Jordanian dinars. "No one would dare give her devalued Israeli shekels," I'm told later.

Finally the Samaritan priest is free to talk to me. His memory is superb. He remembers a brief visit a year ago and asks about the photographs I took of him at that time. The previous trip was to talk about the news that then-Defence Minister Ariel Sharon wanted "to build the Samaritans a settlement." When Samaritans inquired they were told by the Nablus military governor that the reports were false. "No one is thinking of building a settlement in the area," the Samaritan high priest was assured.

But the assurances were false. The settlement division of the World Zionist Organisation had concrete plans at that time for an urban settlement overlooking the city of Nablus. These plans have unfolded slowly in the past year. Priest Afif Najji was apprehensive about giving an opinion of the situation. "If we speak out we could embarrass the Israeli government, and the Jews in particular, by using Biblical verses. But we would suffer a lot then," he asserts.

Najji explains that the community is vulnerable to pressure from the military authorities. "Since we are not landowners, we have to work for others. Many of our members are employed in government jobs or Israeli factories." The priest lashed out at Arab governments for keeping them that way. "We applied to Arab governments for financial support and grants but no one would listen to us. The only people who have continued to support us are our fellow Nablus residents."

Najji speaks very highly of the late Ahmad Shaka'a, father of the deposed mayor of Nablus. According to the Samaritans, he was personally responsible for the survival of the closed sect. Under constant questioning Afif would only say that the establishment of the Israeli settlement (it was carried out on the day marking the establishment of the state of Israel and called 'Bracha' — blessing) would "choke us to death." He pointed out that the Samaritans' mount is already surrounded by settlements on four sides: Elon Moreh to the north, Barucha to the south, Hasrah to the east and Kufr Kaddoum to the west.

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KHALIDI

months of fighting, the Israeli army couldn't enter the city. I am not saying it was a victory, but it shows the extent of how much could be done if the Arabs wished. This confrontation also gave us the measure of the foe, and we concluded they are not that formidable. Israel probably has the third or fourth-best army in the world; they are very competent, yet they're not that formidable. Our fighters were a lot more formidable, I mean man-for-man ours were more than a match for them. The Israelis themselves said that, to be fair.

Q: What lesson do you think the Palestinians might learn from this last confrontation?

Khalidi: One is that we should be very careful about our relations with the host countries. This must be learned, otherwise we're going to suffer. This, of course, doesn't mean anything for people under occupation. From this perspective the war was lost before the first bullet was fired. All the support and heroism the Lebanese gave us couldn't make up for what we had lost before we began the fight.

The second lesson is again that the Israelis are not that powerful. Obviously by their own ground rules, to try to match them with technology or advanced US weaponry, where they are infinitely superior, we can't beat them. They

cannot possibly occupy a major Arab city. In short, had they been able to get to Beirut on the third day, that would have been sufficient to put them in Hama, Syria, but in a terrain such as Beirut, they simply couldn't do it, and became helpless and were reduced by their impotence. Even had they destroyed the city, that wouldn't have made its conquering any easier, for its streets and boulevards would have been blocked.

The third lesson is for the Arabs, and it is one which I am afraid they have not learned. It is that Israel can be stood up to, given that the Arabs are prepared and willing to sacrifice. If a few thousand Palestinians could hold the Israeli army impotent at the gates of Beirut for two-and-a-half months, what could Damascus, Amman and Cairo have done?

For the Israelis, the lesson is that they cannot destroy Palestinian nationalism, which is a very encouraging thing to see inside Israel... That is where the anti-war movement came out, just as it did in the US against the war in Vietnam... Young Israelis have realised that they simply don't want to die in Lebanon or Beirut, just as Americans realised that they didn't want to die in South-East Asia's jungles. I hope they come to terms with the Palestinians and our nationalism.

Q: What about the much talked-about psychological factors working against the Arabs by repeated Arab defeats?

Khalidi: (That really is not much of a factor) if the people who are fighting are doing so for something they believe in, and if the homefront is organised. This is what happened in Beirut; everybody in the city contributed, though not necessarily militarily. The Arabs should take note of this. In most Arab societies the people don't believe or trust their rulers, and they're right not to, since these leaders are most untrustworthy in almost every single case. In Beirut the Palestinian and Lebanese defenders believed in their leaders and recognised them as brave, serious and competent. Israel repeatedly tried to get the leaders, because of is awareness of this fact, but was unable to. Our leaders are not afraid of their people and the people are certain that the leaders are not against them, which is not the case in most other Arab governments.

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RACISM

directed against the PLO and the Palestinians and who wage a war not against the Palestinians and the East, but rather against the military fascist regime which today rules this "humanistic Western state" — Israel.

I Deserve a Reward

"If there was a normal state here I would be granted the Israel Prize for Love of Israel of *Yediot Ahronot* because what I write and say is love of Israel."

This is the essence of Dankner's theme, in short. According to him, there is only one thing that stands in Israel s way to become a "normal state." It is not the fact that it was established, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of states in the world, by uprooting and expelling a whole people from its land. Neither is it the fascist ideology that goes with the murderous campaign against the Palestinian people — all this is still normal. What really disturbs him is the Oriental community that didn't integrate into the process. If all the Ashkenazi Westerners unite against them, according to Dankner, everything will fall in the right order.

No doubt, Dankner deserves a reward for forgery, deception and cover-up. He also picked up the donator of the prize — *Yediot Ahronot*, a paper not known for its objectivity and defense of democratic principles. If Dankner wants to make a bloc with Herzel Rosenblum* against the PLO and the Oriental Jews, let him do it. Yet he should be aware that for anyonewho choosesto live in the gutter, even the best of perfumes won't cover up his traces.

*Chief editor of *Yediot Ahronot* — known to be a spokesman for the most fascist elements in Israel.

Palestinian Women Workers Face Discrimination – On Two Fronts

by Shani Taylor

Palestinian men will often reply to a question about the place of women from the occupied territories in factory production by saying that very few Palestinian women work outside the home except perhaps as teachers Many insist that the few who do, are doing so to earn pocket money before getting married, adding that traditional attitudes are still effective in keeping women at home. Speaking with women activists or just arriving very early at any refugee camp or village in the West Bank will reveal a very different situation as busloads of women get ready to leave for work in the fields and factories of the occupied territories and inside the 'green line'. For Palestinian women, largely from camps and villages like men, are entering the industrial labour force in greater numbers than ever before.

It is extremely difficult to judge exactly the size of the female work force in the occupied territories. The Israeli government's most recent study of the work force of the territories ignores sex differences. A UN study published in 1981 indicates a drop in female participation in the work force from 16 per cent of the total in 1970 to just over 13 per cent in 1980, but this is contradicted by a study done by the Working Women's Committees of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. They estimate that in 1978 there were some 30,000 women from the occupied territories working in factories alone, a dramatic increase from their figure of 13,000 for 1967. These would be workers in very small factories with under 10 employees. Figures for 1967 are difficult to assess because of the effects of the war. The discrepancy is possibly due to a combination of factors, including under-reporting of women's involvement in cottage industry, reluctance to admit that women are working outside the home, on the part of their families, and the general tendency of Palestinian workers to be underrepresented in Israeli statistics on the work force of the occupied territories working within Israel.

Including women working for wages in agriculture and as domestic and industrial cleaners, in addition to the category of secretaries, teachers, and nurses, the percentage of the active work force which is female could well be as high as 20 percent, according to women activists on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Interviews with women workers highlight financial necessity as the reason for this increase in the involvement of women in the work force of the territories. While women do enjoy getting out of the house, it is usually as a result of financial desperation on the part of their families rather than the pursuit of personal satisfaction. Indeed the generally depressing picture of long hours, poor working conditions, and pitifully low wage levels bears out the primary role of economic need in pushing women into factories. Certainly poverty is the major factor in the change in attitudes, or at least of practice for families who traditionally would never consider allowing their daughters to work away from home. The average per capita income for the West Bank is one third of the Israeli average, for the Gaza Strip it is one-sixth.

Dire Economic Straits

In general terms the position of Palestinian women workers on the West Bank and Gaza Strip cannot be separated from the dire economic straits facing the population as a whole. The feeble level of industrial development in the territories prior to 1967 has been redirected to serve the Israeli economy, largely serving as a subcontracting sector for factories and industries owned by Israelis. There been an effective de-industrialisation of the territories as the contribution of industry to the GNP has fallen from 8.7 per cent in 1966 to a current level of 6.7 per cent. Yet the working class within the occupied territories has grown substantially since occupation – not building the infrastructure of their own economy but forced by lack of jobs to work inside Israel.

Official Israeli statistics for 1981 indicate that over a third of the work force of the occupied territories, some 75,000 workers, are now employed inside Israel, up from 12 per cent in 1970. But as striking as these figures are, they are a substantial underestimate. An Israeli ministry of labour estimate at the beginning of this year of the number of Gazans working inside the 'green line' is 34,000, some 43 per cent of the Strip's total work force. This includes 12,000 who have work permits and who were channelled to their employers through the official labour exchanges set up in the territories to control the flow of workers to Israeli factories, construction sites and the agricultural sector. It also includes another 22,000 workers, 14,000 of whom are 'illegal" but still receive their wages through the labour exchanges. The remaining 8000 (which is probably an underestimate) are dependent on temporary work contracted on a daily basis when they are picked up at the "slave markets' for Arab labourers which dot Israeli cities. These are the lowest paid workers and women as well as children are present at these 'slave markets" searching for work.

The same general situation holds true for the West Bank, which is estimated to funnel some 49 per cent of its work force into the Israeli economy. This includes some 15,000 workers who work on the West Bank for Israeli subcontractors taking advantage of the lower wage scales in the territories. Again in this sector women are heavily represented.

Palestinian workers are hostile to taking part in this process which is effectively draining the labour power of the territories to build the Israeli economy. but the lack of well-paying jobs in their own land has given them little option except emigration. Some 22,000 workers, largely skilled, have migrated to the Gulf and Jordan between 1970-77.

The position of Palestinian women in this context is particularly bitter. Their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons are forced either to go abroad or commute up to four hours a day for work, unless they risk sleeping overnight inside the 'green line' which is illegal for most workers. Women are increasingly taking on the double burden of work inside and outside the home. Few households have any of the domestic conveniences which have played a significant part in freeing women in developed economies from domestic drudgery for productive labour outside the home.

Significantly, while families are increasingly recognising the necessity of women's labour outside the home, many women who work especially in factories inside Israel, are looked down on as immoral because of the absence of family supervision at work. Indeed there is a phenomenon in which fathers arrange for their daughters to be picked up by labour contractors who take them to more distant factories where they are unlikely to be recognised, thus preserving the family's honour. These women are paid very badly and the wages usually go directly to their fathers.

Certainly though, not all Palestinian women are so lacking in independence. Meeting with a group of women factory workers in Dheisheh refugee camp I was struck by their self-confidence as they talked about their work in Israeli factories. They work because they want to contribute to the family income. As one woman told me, "Every year life gets more and more expensive; before it was the men who worked to provide but now some are in prison and the ones who work don't earn enough for their families." Fatmeh's own situation is representative of women I've spoken to. There are eleven in the family, only seven remain in the camp. One brother is a political prisoner, another one is not allowed to return, a third is studying abroad (a major expense), while a sister has married and settled in Jordan. Fatmeh and another sister must help their aging father to support the rest of the family. Along with many other women from the camp, she is up at dawn to do housework. The company bus arrives at 6:30 am, work begins at 7:00 am with a 15 minute break for breakfast and half an hour for lunch – they leave at 4:00-4:30 pm and work a five and a half day week. Fatmeh's work at the Triumph lingerie factory consists of sewing on the straps of brassieres, hour after hour for wages which are terrible by international standards, but much higher than what she could earn on the West Bank. Her basic wage is IS5000 (US$120.00) a month with the possibility of earning IS8000 (US$195.00) with a productivity bonus for surpassing ever increasing quotas. The basic wage of Jewish women employees is double that of women commuting from the territories IS10,000 (US$240.00) with the additional productivity bonus. Jewish women also work shorter hours, finishing at 2:30, according to Arab women in the same factory.

The Triumph company bus leaves Dheisheh camp at 6:30am; work begins at 7. The women leave at 4-4:30 pm and work five and a half days a week. For this, the Palestinian women working in the Triumph lingerie factory earn a basic monthly wage of IS5000 (US $120.00) – while the Jewish women receive double that amount.

Wage and Benefit Discrimination

Even more galling for workers from the territories is that they pay taxes and contributions deducted from their pay cheques for social benefits that they don't receive. For example, they pay into the Histadrut health fund but there are no Histadrut clinics in the occupied territories. While they pay Israeli taxes which go towards the provision of social services in Israel, the Israeli administration of the territories is notoriously reluctant to provide basic amenities with the exception of the deluxe facilities available to the settlements. Another example of this is the absence of child allowances in the territories even while large numbers of residents are paying taxes which ultimately go towards the provision of these social services for Israeli children.

Indeed, within Israel, Arab citizens are fighting a battle to receive equal child benefits with Jewish citizens – the catch there being that one has to be an army veteran or a student of the Jewish religion to qualify for full benefits – which automatically disqualifies Arab children because their fathers are not allowed to and don't want to be recruited into the Zionist army.

Members of the Women's Work Committee in Dheisheh camp estimate that some three-quarters of the women who can work are working outside the home. A full third of these are estimated as working in factories inside Isfael so this discrimination is a major concern for Palestinian women. Yet remaining within the confines of the territories also has severe problems for a Palestinian woman who wants to earn a decent wage. Although they avoid discrimination between Jews and Arabs, they are still forced to accept substantially less than male workers inside the territories. Indeed it is often noted that the large pool of cheap female labour is all that is keeping many of the outdated factories in the occupied terntories from going under in the face of Israeli competition. Many men will simply commute to Israel but in the overall sense women are less mobile and thus more open to exploitation. According to informed sources, a substantial sector of the female factory work force on the West Bank is only taking home IS150-200 (US$4.75) a day. Many take less. This is barely enough to cover food and bus fare as the Israeli economy has also extended its high cost of living and unparalleled inflation rate to the occupied territories.

The discrepancy between the wages men and women receive for the same work is large throughout the occupied territories. The following case is an example of the general situation. Siham is a supervisor in a clothing factory on the West Bank. There are 50 employees (a big factory by West Bank standards) 35 women and 15 men. Siham receives JD85 (US$246.00) a month after over 10 years experience; she considers it poor compensation for a six day week, but a lot better than what many women earn. Her big complaint is that she earns less than men with less experience: "I replaced a man in the job I'm doing now but I get a full JD50 (US$145.00) less than he did. I even trained a man and he is responsible to me but he gets JD45 (US$130.50) more a month than I do. I've complained but the owner just ignores me, he says a man has more responsibilities than a woman."

Another case, this time only affecting Israeli citizens, highlights the widespread attitude in all parts of Israel and the territories towards the value of women's labour. A young worker described to me a situation in the Kitane factory in Beit Shan, inside the 'green line'. All the employees who worked there manufacturing curtains were Israeli citizens, half were Arabs with Israeli citizenship. Men and women, both Arabs and Jews, worked side by side at the same machines but it was commonplace that wages for Jewish men were the highest, followed by Palestinian men then Jewish women and finally, at the bottom of the heap once again - Palestinian women. As one worker described the situation: 'They worked side by side and the Arab girls would get so angry when they compared their pay cheques with those the Jewish girls received. The Histadrut said it was based on differences in productivity but that wasn't true. The owner said that we were villagers and it didn't cost us as much to live but they were living in a town the same size as ours. When you asked the Jewish workers why, they said it was because we were the B workers and they were the A workers. They said it jokingly and I don't blame them for the differences, I know they don't decide wages. Some of them stood up for us sometimes which was good." There are no longer any Arabs from Israel working at this particular factory. Following a series of labour disputes led by Palestinians and at the insistence of the predominantly Jewish workers' council of the Histadrut, it was decided that rather than bus in Arab villagers, the unemployed locals all Jewish, should have priority.

Such blatant discrimination is taken for granted by Palestinian workers. They laughed at the naivete of my question when I asked them why they didn t complain to the Histadrut. They are hired through the Israeli-run labour exchanges which are supposed to protect them, as indeed is the Histadrut, although they are not members. In practice, however, neither the Histadrut nor the labour exchanges protect workers from the territories from discriminatory practices.

The normal reaction of workers to blatant discrimination in the work place is to exert pressure on the government and to unionise, but for Palestinian women workers from the territories, -- this is not a straightforward option. Exploited as Palestinians, as women and as workers, they confront a morass of controls which hamper their ability to organise – as indeed do Palestinian men.

Repression of Trade Unions

In general, Arab trade unions are still in their infancy. They do have thousands of members, overwhelmingly men, both inside Israel and in the territories, but they are actively repressed. The Israeli authorities, ever concerned about the influence of national organisations among Palestinians, exert very tight controls over trade unions on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. To do so they utilise both the trade union restrictions enshrined in Egyptian and Jordanian laws in addition to highly repressive military orders designed to remove nationalists from the leadership of the unions.

The emphasis of the women's committees has been to organise women in the camps and villages to protect their political and economic rights, while combatting at the same time traditions which restrict the ability of women to realise their potential as equal members of Palestinian society.

The trade union movement has had close contacts with the growing Palestinian women's movement, which since the late '70s has been deeply concerned with the plight of Palestinian women workers. The emphasis of both the Working Womens' Committees and the Women's Work Committees has been the establishment of local committees in the camps and villages to organise women to protect both their political and economic rights while working towards combatting traditions which restrict the ability of women to realise their full potential as equal members of Palestinian society.

Fadwa Labadi, the head of the Women's Work Committees in the West Bank sees part of the role of her organisation as helping women to become involved with the trade unions in their workplace. "It's a very big problem, although they are bused back and forth to work in company buses, it's an entirely different thing to go in the afternoon to a union meeting where there are men present. Women workers are isolated. Even if the family allows her to, she's tired with the double burden of house work and child care. The role of the Women's Work Committees is to provide a bridge between the women and the unions by providing information on their rights in cooperation with the unions and to give them union applications and represent them at the union level."

The Working Women's Committees of the West Bank and Gaza Strip do very similar work, attempting to raise the general economic and social awareness of women workers through everything from literacy classes to lecturers on workers' rights. The head of the Working Women's Committees in Ramallah-al-Bireh doesn't underestimate the difficulties of involving women who have never joined any social organisation outside their family: "The process needs a lot of patience. Maybe a year, maybe a month. It's difficult because they're afraid sometimes of being fired for joining the committee. We have trouble getting into some factories. But still our membership is growing rapidly as women realise we can help them.'

Among Palestinian women there is a great deal of enthusiasm about belonging to the committees once they become involved. Alice Deeb, a housekeeper at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem, is content with her job. She receives about US$500.00 a month which is a good wage for a Palestinian woman, even with the 20 years experience which she has had at the hotel. She joined the Working Women's Committees because, ' The women here (on the West Bank), no one cares about them or looks after their interests. I get more respect as a member of the committee and that's important.'

It would be wishful thinking to see the time when all Palestinian women workers will be involved in a strengthened trade union movement as just around the corner. For the time being, most of the active members of these committees are teachers, nurses and other educated women. It is difficult to reach out to and organise Palestinian women workers, whether they work inside the 'green line' or in the occupied territories, whether they are Israeli citizens or not. Their general lack of education and practical social experience outside the family, in addition to their restricted mobility as compared to men, lays them open to gross exploitation by employers, whether Arab or Israeli.

It is difficult to foresee a change in the positon of women workers without a far stronger trade union movement willing to confront discrimination against women workers, in the context of a govemment policy aimed at correcting the current discriminatory practices affecting Palestinian workers in general and women in particular. The current policy of the Israeli government aims at containing the growth of the trade union movement while encouraging the supply of cheap labour for Israeli-interest-linked development. The prognosis for a radically improved position for Palestinian women workers is linked, not surprisingly, to a radical change in the political economy.

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda.* The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No. 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Title	Author	Place of Publication	Publisher
For My Country	Mohammad Atieh al-Abarashi	Cairo	From the Series of Blue Books for Children
Beauty in the Service of the Nation	Mohammad Atieh al-Abarashi	Cairo	From the Series of Blue Books for Children
The Patronage of an Egyptian Youth	Mohammad Atieh al-Abarashi	Cairo	From the Series of Blue Books for Children
The Strategy of Arab Propaganda	al-Said Aliwa	Cairo	Egyptian Council
The Wheat Giant	Mu'ain Tawfiq Bseisu	Cairo	Egyptian Ministry of Education
Studies of the Arab Nation	Mohammaf Fateh Aqeel	Alexandria	College
Touch is the Heart of Things	King Abd al-Aziz	Cairo	Egyptian Council
In the Battleground of Nationalism and Freedom	Suheil Idris	Beirut	Dar al-Adab
When Oranges Bloom	Nahid Munir al-Rees	Beirut	Karmel Press
Studies in the Economies of the Arab States	Mohammad Yahyah Aweis	Cairo	Ain Shams Bookstore
Your Eyes and the Green Earth	Ahmad al-Mukhtar al-Hadi	Tunis	Dar al-Tunisi
Evangelism and Colonialism	Mustafa Khalidi and Omar Farough	Beirut	Modern Bookstore
Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice	Mohammad al-Kilani		Dar al-Katib al-Lubnani
The Glories of Israel in the Land of Palestine	George Kana'an	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
The Jewish Problem and the Zionist Movement	Badia Amin	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
A Roving Ambassador	Nasser al-Din al-Nashishibi	Beirut	Dar al-Ittihad
The Complete Works — Plays	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
Palestinian Revolution Dimensions and Causes	Naji al-Lush	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
Five Letters to Contemporary Muslim Youth	Mohammad al-Bahi	Beirut	Dar al-Tafkir
Poets of the Islamic Call in the Modern Age	Ahmad al-Jada'a and Khamis Jabbar	Beirut	Message Institute
The Free Word		Acre	al-Sawt
The Islamic Call	Dr Sadiq Amin	Amman	Print Workers Cooperative Society
The International Islamic Seminar	Islamic World League	Mecca	Propaganda and Publishing Institute
Islam — The Way to Liberation	Mohammad Ziad	Beirut	Islamic Youth House
Our Fortress Destroyed From Within	Dr Mohammad Mohammad Hussein	Beirut	al-Maktab al-Islami
Circulation Forbidden	Mohammad Awad	Beirut	Dar al-Shuruq
Contemporary Jewish Literature	Dr Fuad Husni Ali	Palestinian Studies Research Department	
Palestine: Its History, Meaning and Destiny	Shafiq al-Rashidaat	Egypt	Dar al-Katib al-Arabi
Pamphlets, Studies and Documents on the Occupied Homeland: English and Arabic Bibliography	Bassam al-Sakit	Jordan	The Royal Education Society
More Dangerous Than Defeat	Mohammad Jalal Kishk	Kuwait	Dar al-Bayyan
The End of Israel and Zionism	Abd al-Hamid Wakid	Egypt	al-Balagh Press
Our Holy War	Dr Abd al-Halim Mahmoud (Sheikh of al-Azhar)	Egypt	New Press
Israel: Between the Beginning and the End	Dr Mahmoud Diab	Cairo	Anglo-Egyptian Bookstore
Encyclopaedia of the Palestinian Cause - Part 2	Dr Mahmoud Diab	National Guidance Ministry — Palestine Office	
Holy War — Peace at the Summit of Islam	Mohammad Hassan Said Banjar	Dar	al-Fikr al-Arabi
Zionist Claims in Palestine	Fathi Fawzi Abd al-Mati	Cairo	Dar al-Maaref
Prayer and Revolution	Nazik al Malaika	Beirut	Dar al-Elm Lilmillayin
Studies in the Literature of the Calamity	Abd al-Karim al-Ashqar	Beirut	Dar al-Fikr
The Calamity	Aref al-Aref	Beirut	Modern Bookshop
Contemporary World Problems	Hamdi Hafez	Cairo	National Printing House
Modern Arab Literature	Yusuf Iz al-Din	Cairo	Egyptian Council
Jews Between Religion and History	Sabr Ta aymeh	Cairo	al-Nahda Bookshop
The Military Encyclopaedia		Cairo	al-Nahda Bookshop
The Political Encyclopaedia		Beirut	Arab Studies Institute
The Islamic World	Mohammad al Sihi	Cairo	Arab Awakening Bookshop
The Thousand Flags	Anwar al-Jundi	Cairo	Anglo-Egyptian
The Arab Strategic Conference for Economic Unity		Baghdad	Arab League
The Lebanese Problem from an Islamic Perspective	Fathiyyeh Yakun	Beirut	Islamic Institute
The Greater Homeland	Fakri Atwa and Farid Fora	Cairo	Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi
Al-Wahdat Pilot	Ahmad Dahbour	Beirut	Dar al-Awdeh
I Came for Something Else	Ahmad Dahbour	Beirut	Dar al-Awdeh
The Arab Homeland	Mohammad Saudi	Cairo	Ideal Bookshop
Water Sources in the Arab Homeland	Jamal al-Din al Danasuri	Cairo	Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop
The New Embrace	Ghali Shukri	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
They Are Gambling With the Homeland	George Nasif	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
Fire and the Core	Jabra Ibrahim Jabra	Beirut	Dar al-Quds
A Critique of the Ideology of Camouflage	Badi al- Amin	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
The War of Attrition	Yusuf Sayigh and Ahmad Khalidi	Beirut	Dar al-Quds
The Well of Chains	Khalil Ahmad Khalil	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
A Critique of Poetry	Elias Khoury	Beirut	Ibn Rushd Bookshop
The Castel Horseman - Abd al-Qadr al-Husseini	Asim al-Jundi	Bairut	Dar al-Talia
Modern Arab Poetry in the Tragedy of Palestine	1917 - 1955 Kamil a-Sawafiri	Egypt	al-Nahda Bookshop
Arab Society and the Palestinian Cause	Abd al Mun em Fawzi	Beirut	Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiya
Al-Manoliya in Damascus	Alfa al-Adli	Damascus	Ibn Zaydoun Press
Summary of Arab and Jewish Writers in History	Jafa al Khalili	Iraq	Dar al-Rashid
With Kamal Jumblatt	Fayez al Faqi	Beirut	Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Third Carbon Dioxide	Samih al Qassim	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
Heroism in the Shade of Ideology	Sheikh Kishk	Cairo	Modern Egyptian Bookshop
Arabs Under Occupation Since 1948	Habib Qawiji	Beirut	Research Centre
Islamic Dictionary	Ahmad Atiyatallah	Cairo	Maktab al-Nahdat al-Masriyyeh
Excerpts of Islamic Studies	Sheikh Kishk	Cairo	Modern Egyptian Bookshop
Memories Sealed with Red Wax	Ghada al-Asmahan	Beirut	Ghada al-Asmahan
Birds Don't Freeze to Death	Afnan al-Qassim	Beirut	Dar al-Farabi
Jewish Upbringing in Occupied Palestine and the Diaspora	Adel A'tari	Beirut	The Message Institute
The Loaf Beats Like a Heart	Ghada Sam'an	Beirut	Ghada Sam'an Bookshop

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

POEMS OF TAWFIQ ZAYYAD

Tawfiq Zayyad is the old knight of the Palestinian literature of resistance. His colleagues, Mahmoud Darwish and Samih al-Qassem, are still racing their horses in the arena of literature, but Zayyad has stopped writing. Political life and his obligations as mayor of Nazareth have taken most of his time. However, his works live on. Many of his poems have been set to music and have become popular songs. Among the most famous are *I Call You* and *Let the World Hear*.

Simplicity and straightforwardness are the hallmarks of his poetry, a characteristic which makes his work popular and effective.

His poem *Freedom Prisoners* was written in solidarity with the prisoners' hunger strike April 28 to May 4, 1970. Thousands of prisoners held in administrative detention struck. Thousands of copies of the poem were distributed in the Galilee, Nazareth and Triangle areas. *The Coming Day* and *Let the World Hear* are two parts of the poem.

The third poem, *Something about Force*, attacks the Zionist arguments. He concludes that force is essential for the protection of the Zionist ideology.

The Coming Day

That day is coming
It is coming soon
I will carry my flute and sing
On roads
In my towns and villages full of blessings
In the high mountains and forests
I will sing
To the man liberated from all oppressors
From all invaders and occupiers
To the people liberated from the fear of
The past and the future
From the worries of earth and the day
After I will sing
From place to every place...
In the Arab Jerusalem
In Gaza and Golan

"My homeland was once occupied
my homeland became free
the illegal occupation existed
and today became a memory"

That day is coming
It is coming soon
I will pick my pen
Dipped in my heart,
On the flowers' leaves, I will write
On the bird's wings, I will write
On the steadfast tree branches
In confrontation with the wind
I will write
On the doors of our factories, schools, farms,
On the walls of workers' palaces
On the palms of children's hands
On the heroic martyrs' statues
On the shoulders of our bold pilots, I will
Write...write...write
On everyplace, everywhere
in the Arab Jerusalem
In Gaza and Golan

"My homeland was once occupied
my homeland became free
the illegal occupation existed once
and today became a memory."

Let the World Hear

Let the world hear
Hear
We starve...
have no clothes on
are cut into pieces,
We eat your soil,
O land that suffers
We die...but
the hoisted flag of liberators
will never fall from our hands.
Let the world hear
Hear
We starve...
have no clothes on
are cut into pieces,
But we will not
kneel Before the power...phantom...and cannon
We will not surrender
nobody will submit, not even a suckling infant.

Something About Force

-Aren't we in the Middle East, the stongest State?
-No argument!
-Stronger than Egypt and Syria?
-No argument!
-Stronger than all Arab countries?
-Of course...the daily newspapers do not lie.
-Stronger than them alone and together?
-Of course our leaders do not lie.
-Aren't we the chosen people of God and Moses is the highest prophet?
-That's what was written in the sacred books.
-Is not this land, the land of return?
-No argument!
-Do we not have the right to return after 2000 years of vagabondage?
-No argument!
-Did we not liberate each armlength of land by sacrificing our blood?
-No doubt about it!
-Why then do our neighbours not recognise our existence?
-I do not know.
-Do we not exist?
-We exist.
-If this is so, why are we asked to compromise what we gained by using force?
-I do not know.
-Or even one span of a hand of land?
-Even one span of a hand of land.
-Did not the Arabs voluntarily leave their land?
-No doubt about it!
-Why are their shouts of return so loud?
-I do not know.
-Are we not in urgent need for peace?
-In urgent need.
-Isn't our desire for peace true?
-For sure.
-Why do the Arabs reject our call for peace?
-I do not know.

* * *

-Are we not a talented people?
-No argument.
-Why then do we fail in selling our policy to our neighbours?
-I do not know.
-Why did we not succeed in enjoying one moment of peace?
-I do not know.
-If this matter is so, is it possible that we are not the chosen people of God?
-Possible!
-Is it possible that we are not more talented people than other people?
-Possible.
-That we are a people like other people on the earth?
-Possible.
-For instance like the other people?
-For instance.
-What is the solution? What can we do to further peace?
-I do not know.
-I know.
-Tell me.
-No solution without force. We impose it by force.
-Are we able to do so?
-Are not we the strongest state in the Middle East?
-Are we not stronger than Egypt and Syria? Than all Arab countries? Are we not so?
-I do not know.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The Begin - Gemayel pact which was signed in Khalde and Kiryat Shmoneh (al-Khalsa) on May 17 and the reactions in the Arab and international world to this latest development filled the front pages of the Palestinian papers in the occupied territories this week.

Local items which received prominent coverage this week were the latest Jordanian bridge-crossing restrictions and the revelation of information about interference by Israeli politicians on behalf of Jewish vigilantes who committed acts of terrorism against West Bank Palestinians, was reprinted from the Israeli press.

Movements of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and his top aide, Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), at a time when foreign circles are circulating exaggerated reports about splits and mutiny in Fatah units in the Beqa'a, also received top coverage this week.

Beware the Conspirators!

Those who believe in the imperialist attack which is now trying to force upon Lebanon an agreement and force Reagan s plan on the Palestinian people will not reach the occupied territory with its tentacles and conspiracies, and those who think they do not have the necessary instruments to remove these conspirators from the land are wrong.

Actually, the planners and executors of any plan must first feel convinced that they are able to indirectly transfer such energy to different areas in the occupied territory.

We do not speak of known activities but insist that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are at the centre of Reagan's plan; to its inhabitants such a plan will isolate them from the rest of the Palestinian people, and the PLO.

From this we can assume that the rejection of Reagan's plan by the PLO and the dead end reached in the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue does not imply that those who support Reagan's plan will stop their cooperation. For the imperialists will pressure those who oppose it at the same time that they will try to erase the PLO from the picture.

The colonialists previously used a policy of divide and rule. Such a policy is being applied today in the occupied territory to divide the unity of our people. The ideological debates were put first, the use of lies and rumours about one faction to weaken and destroy it.

There are certain antagonistic slogans and groups who in themselves have questionable loyalties. These members threaten to eliminate such patriotic views and persons.

If this is a reaction to Reagan's proposal and to those who support it then it is our duty to enlighten the masses about its aims. For if it becomes a loss to our faction or group then eventually it will be a loss to all, a loss to the national struggle and a campaign to accept it bit by bit.

AL TALIA
May 12

Jordanian Actions: Resistance or Pressure?

The new philosophy to withstand and protect national security by a series of restraints taken by the Jordanian government to restrict immigration and strengthen our resistance, reminds us of the parable of the deceitful fox who played the role well. The only difference is that the fox manipulated a stupid, ignorant sector. We here cannot be fooled. If being occupied for 16 years has not proved our devotion to this land and our resistance to giving it up then nothing will prove our loyalty.

Hundreds of thousands of our fellow brothers work under harsh conditions abroad - not to consume luxury goods or to obtain an easier life but to survive. Those abroad are living with the hope of coming back. They possess re-entry visas renewed every year. Abroad and at home they are degraded, afraid to come back because of Jordanian regulations.

Yearly, many educated individuals leave the West Bank and Gaza Strip in search of employment abroad. In the occupied lands there are six universities, seven higher institutes of teaching, three technical and two nursing colleges in addition to numerous business and occupational training centres. All these graduates every year have no place to go but abroad, for we lack factories, institutions or businesses to accommodate such large numbers. The choice is between working in Israeli factories or leaving.

Such remarks are not made so that a decision will be revoked but we want answers:

* These restraints foretell of a series designed to lock and suffocate us into defiance.

* Are such actions an episode in a plan agreed upon with the aid of our brothers abroad and the Arab resistance movement to withstand pressures?

* If such measures are a separate Jordanian plan, then have the planners thought of the loss of those Arabs abroad?

* Did they think about employing West Bank and Gaza Strip graduates in industries and the importance of providing aid to these industries to open job opportunities?

* Did they study the link between the substantial income received by many and the resistance, or relate hunger to a blow against defiance?

We are afraid the answers to such questions are what laymen presume to be right, as a step of a separate Jordanian plan to pressure our fellow brothers into acceptance.

We ask our national institutions to clarify the aims and motives of this decision and reject it if it is a separate step taken by Jordan to influence us.

AL FAJR
May 14

This Day

If people can recall days in their history then days for the Palestinian people have become history and memories, because our people are alive, dynamic. In the past they have been pressured but they stood their ground, making such events history and not mere items or passing events.

In this, our history differs from others in the resistance struggle: May 15, 1948 and June 5, 1967. On these days the entire land of Palestine was lost and Israel officially established.

Our people existed from their land but uprooted they have shown to others a just cause that will not die by passing time. Until we are settled and satisfied, the area will see no peace. If the problem is not solved justly then the area will remain a threat to the world.

Everyone must realise that such a solution can only come by regaining our rights to exist. Our people have been able to open the eyes of friends and allies to our struggle, to claim in its just course a solution. For as long as one Palestinian is alive, believing in the justice of our cause, our rights will be protected and achieved.

AL MITHAQ
May 14

Weinberger Beats the War Drums

US Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger made a clear threat to the Soviet Union and Syria and emphasised US commitment to Israel's security. Weinberger, who is often accused of being sympathetic to the Arabs rather than to Israel, stressed US commitment to the security of Israel. The US threat is intended to improve what was already achieved by George Shultz as a result of the Lebanese-Israeli settlement. It is also intended to confront the Syrian-Palestinian-Soviet position with regard to the settlement, which expands American hegemony in the region.

This time around, the US threat is openly rude and personifies the substance of US foreign policy which aims to break the will of the Arab people and to put the entire region in the orbit of Washington's policy. Mr Weinberger, when he announces his threats to the Arab regimes, also depends on their position towards the issue: he meets with the Saudi defence minister to ask him to exert pressure on Syria. He also counts on the Arab regimes' dependency on the US and their preoccupation with the Gulf war, the sub-Saharan war, the war in Chad and in their warfare against an imaginary danger, commonly referred to as the Soviet threat.

The Weinberger speech contains many signs of danger; he beats the war drums and plays the same tune heard these days from Israeli military and politcial personnel. This political and psychological campaign aims at preparing the way in a military campaign to hit Syria and the PLO.

The Arab governments should derive the necessary conclusions by themselves.

AL SHAAB
May 15

Bulldozer at work excavating under Old City wall between Damascus and Herod's gates./SF

American Mayors Visit Palestinian Counterparts

Eight US and Canadian mayors paid a visit to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Galilee as part of a first-hand introduction to the situation in the area, May 6-10.

The trip, which was sponsored by the Arab-American University Graduates Association was intended to introduce the mayors to the plight of Palestinians in the occupied territories by arranging meetings between them and Palestinian mayors. The tour began in Algiers, April 30, where the American mayors sat in as observers at the Conference of Arab Mayors. In Algiers they met exiled West Bank mayors, Fahd Qawasmeh of Hebron, Mohammad Milhem of Halhoul and Rawhi Khatib, former mayor of Jerusalem under Jordan.

The visiting delegation which is the first American municipal delegation ever to come to the occupied territories, met with deposed mayors of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, al-Bireh, Ibrahim Tawil, Gaza, Rashad Shawwa, as well as Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad.

The American mayors, who represented a broad political spectrum from conservative Republicans to liberal Democrats, had a difficult time arranging a meeting with West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek. Kollek had initially refused to meet the Americans because their trip was sponsored by an Arab organisation. When one of the mayors, Lee Alexander, from Syracuse, New York, and president of the Democratic mayors organisation, found this out he telexed the committee which pressured Kollek into the meeting.

Abdeen Jabara, an American lawyer of Palestinian extraction, who was the tour director, denied an Israeli newspaper report which claimed that Mayor Teddy Kollek cut the meeting short because of "hostile questions." Jabara told *Al Fajr* that in fact the American mayors were forced to leave early because of their busy four-day schedule which included a visit to Nazareth and the Galilee with mayor Tawfiq Zayyad. Jabara did concede that the American mayors had raised specific questions regarding Israeli policy towards the Arab population in Jerusalem. Kollek reportedly told the Americans that "he wouldn't want to be an Arab living in Jerusalem." Kollek also upset the Americans when he told them that "Muslims are an intolerable people" and pointed to the Iran-Iraq war as an example.

During meetings with Palestinian mayors, the Americans showed their ignorance of the situation in the Middle East. Jabara told *Al Fajr* that in discussions with Bassam Shaka'a, the dismissed mayor of Nablus, one mayor queried, "Why don't you take this case up in the UN."

Except for Herbert Mocol, the mayor of Mankato, Minnesota, who is of Lebanese origin, the majority of the mayors were unfamiliar with the situation of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

According to Jabara, the American mayors were genuinely shocked with what they saw in the occupied territories. The personal talk given by Samiha Khalil, head of *Inash al-Usra*, the al-Bireh family rehabilitation society, and the report of Anglican priest and Ramallah's deputy mayor Odeh Rantisi were the most affecting for the mayors, Jabara said. The visiting mayors had different outlooks on the situation. Conservative mayor of Cheyenne, Wyoming, Don Ericsson, likened the plight of UNRWA refugees to those on welfare, while a Democratic mayor pointed out that while the US federal government spends US $4.5 billion for a jobs bill for American unemployed, it provides Israel with US $ 2-3 billion in financial aid.

EXORBITANT COSTS LEVIED AT BRIDGE

Israeli border control stations and permit-issuing offices are making massive profits from Palestinians travelling back and forth across the two Jordan River bridges.

Exorbitant costs begin with the travellers first step in obtaining a travel permit. A Jerusalem resident must pay IS900 (US $20) for a travel permit, and residents from the rest of the West Bank and Gaza must pay IS1600 in fees for the same permit. Each child is another IS300 for all travellers.

Similarly, high fees are required of visitors to the West Bank and Gaza. If permission for a visitor is requested by a Jerusalemite the cost is only IS120, but if a West Banker applies the fee is IS1500. Again, when a visitor leaves the area there is a IS600 exit tax plus IS300 for every child.

For entry by a visitor or a local resident's return to the West Bank, an exorbitantly high and often arbitrary customs tax is charged. *Al Fajr* learned that customs officials collected over JD2500 (US $7500) from a group of 42 travellers one day last week. One Palestinian employee working at the customs office explained the guidelines for the Israeli customs assessors working on the bridge. "A Palestinian who spends four days or less outside the West Bank is not allowed to bring anything back." One passenger was charged IS1382 for bringing with him 12 pieces of clothing. He told *Al Fajr* that this tax is charged no matter what the passenger took with him when he left the West Bank. If a passenger has been away from the West Bank for more than a week he is allowed to carry with him clothes valued at US $50. If his journey extends to more than two weeks, clothes valued at US $100 are allowed. Any clothes, gifts or other materials over and above these are taxed at a rate of 67 percent. A 15 percent value-added tax is also slapped on to the total custom tax.

Munira Daraweesh, an 18-year-old high school graduate, went to Jordan four months ago to enter university. She was unable to attend so she worked making macrame plant holders. With the little money she saved she bought about 14 articles of clothing. When she returned home, May 15, she was asked to pay IS9200. After her continuous protest the figure was lowered to IS8,280. Young Munira was unable to pay and had to borrow about JD70 from fellow passengers.

Gold

Hiam Yousef, her husband and son were asked to pay custom taxes on her four gold bracelets and necklace. Her husband insisted that he bought the jewelery in Gaza before they left, but forgot to register them when they entered Jordan. Muna Tarazi did register her gold on her way to Kuwait two years ago but still had to pay JD130 for gifts, she brought. Tarazi, who was returning to visit her family and her four children, was only carrying two suitcases full of clothes. She said that what she was carrying was the bare minimum in personal clothes and small gifts. "In our society you cannot return from a two-year absence without any gifts especially for the children," she said. "No one understands what goes on the bridge, they just wait for their gifts."

What Muna Tarazi paid was little compared to what one passenger paid two months ago. Customs officials told *Al Fajr* that one passenger was given a JD554 custom fine. Since the taxes are calculated in Israeli shekels, most passengers are forced to change the Jordanian dinars that they are carrying at the official rate in order to pay the fine. "No one carries that amount of money in Israeli currency," one passenger said. "People do not even carry that much in Israeli shekels in the West Bank because of devalation, do you expect that they would when they leave for months?" he asked.

Regular travellers across the bridge are familiar with the customs rip-off and avoid as much as possible bringing anything back with them. One traveller was carrying his clothes in a sack in order to avoid having to pay taxes.

Grandma is Home, but...

To the editor,

Three years ago my mother went to the USA after retiring from serving the community of Bethlehem as a nurse for almost 30 years. Last week mother came back to see her two boys and the five grandchildren. On her way, mother stopped for a week in Germany to be with her daughter and she made another stop in Amman to visit relatives.

Her luggage was light and in accordance with the airline policies. Mother knew that crossing King Hussein Bridge on the West Bank side is not easy and that due to the tight security measures, one may go through uncomfortable times. Mother also knew that there are things you are not allowed to bring across. So she didn't bring with her any electrical items and absolutely no toys for the grandchildren. Her two-piece set of luggage contained mostly her own used clothes with a few new items of clothing. To her great disappointment, she was required to pay customs for these personal belongings. Payment must be in Jordanian dinars and it amounted to JD144 (IS17,000).

Bishara Awad
President, Bethlehem Bible College
May 13, 1983

POLLUTION AND EXPULSION

"Azaryah Alon is famous as someone who, besides preaching love for the country and its sights, also fights to preserve the ecology. One example that he often uses is that of the Beduin tribe which settled many years ago on the banks of the Hadera River mouth. The tribe is there today despite changes wrought by the industrialisation and urbanisation of Hadera, a former swamp and now a settlement. "I do not understand," the No. 1 Nature Lover in Israel used to say, "what sort of race these Beduin come from, that the bad smell rising out of the estuary does not make them run away."

"Very soon these Beduin, and all the people of Israel who pass on the bridge over the Hadera flow, will be able to breathe fresh air. Yesterday there was a celebration for the inauguration of a water purifying plant on the flow. Hadera Mayor Yehiel Kahana and aides, the general manager of the Hadera Paper Mill, Shmuel Rothem, and the director of the ministry of agriculture, Meir Ben Meir, knocked glasses in a festive toast to the great achievement. (The glasses were not filled with the flow's water, of course.)" (Haaretz, 5.5.83)

Contributor Thoma Shick adds: It is not certain whether the author of the above item knows that just near the bridge he mentioned, 1.5 metres from the polluted and bad smelling flow, there was a spring that served the above mentioned Beduin with pure water...

There is a curious fact relating to the festive celebration — why wasn't the director of the Israel Electricity Board invited? Was it because the electricity board accomplished what the bad smell of industrialisation failed — that is to evacuate the Beduin which they achieved some years ago, following their bitter struggle for recognition of their documents proving ownership of the land on which they were settled. Many of them still hold their Turkish deeds for the land on which there now stands a modern coal-fired generator.

The documents, the hunger strikes, the claims to the High Court of Justice — nothing helped. Arab al-Mafjar, the name of the Beduin village, ceased to exist.

Therefore, of course, the Beduin also couldn't be invited. But why should they have been? After all, if anybody cared for their welfare, the bad smell would have been removed long ago, before land was confiscated for the erection of the even more dangerously polluting electric plant.

After all, the most curious point is: why did the reporter mention the Beduin as beneficiaries of the new achievement; didn't he know they are not there anymore?

WEEKLY REVIEW

...our busses belonging to the Arab Jet Bus Company, which is based in the West Bank and Jordan and has been forced to place the company's initials in Hebrew on all its West Bank busses /JN

May 11, 1983

80 KILO BOMB

TEL AVIV — A large amount of explosives was found near kibbutz Karen Shalom, east of the Negev near the Egyptian border in Sinai. A water pipe was found to have been filled with 80 kilos of explosives which Israeli demolition experts defused.

WON'T GO

TEL AVIV 'There Is a Limit' (*Yesh Gvul*) movement of Israeli reserve soldiers against the Lebanon war announced that five soldiers were sentenced to between three and four weeks imprisonment for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

Seventeen officers are currently in prison serving similar sentences and 49 others are awaiting trial.

AL-AQSA INVADERS

JERUSALEM — A group of Jewish settlers tried to break into al-Aqsa Mosque through St. Stephen's Gate at 11:00 am. *Waqf* guards and police prevented their entrance.

3 HIT IN HEBRON

Two soldiers and an Israeli civilian were wounded in Hebron by stones. Israel Radio reported that a military vehicle was stoned and the driver wounded in one incident; the two soldiers were injured when an Israeli bus was stoned.

MOLOTOVS AT ARABS

Two incendiary bottles were thrown at a bus near Jenin. The bus carried Arab workers to their place of work in Israel and back.

No one was hurt according to *Davar* newspaper but the bus broke down and the police are "doing their job."

May 12, 1983

LAWYER JAILED

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Jenin lawyer Yusef Said Jarrar to three months imprisonment. He was convicted of "contacting an illegal organisation." He was detained nearly one month ago.

KILLED IN BEQA'A

An Israeli military spokesman announced that an Israeli soldier was shot and killed on May 10 near Monsoura in the Beqa'a valley, Lebanon. The spokesman says that the bullet came from the direction of Syrian troops and that Israeli troops fired two shots in response.

EILAT WORKERS STRIKE

Eight Arab workers from the occupied territories who work in Eilat went on strike and returned to their homes, in protest of intolerable living and working conditions. Other workers are expected to join the strike. Arabic newspapers stated that orders were issued by the employment officers not to send the workers to contractors to Eilat unless working conditions are improved.

ABU ALI SHAHIN EXILED

Israel Radio announced that the military governor of the Gaza Strip ordered the exile of Abu Ali Shahin from his house in Rafah to somewhere in the desert near the Egyptian border. It was also recorded that the military governor forbade him from contacting anyone without special permission. Shahin was recently released from Nafha prison after serving a 15-year sentence.

STUDENT TOWN ARRESTS

Israeli authorities renewed the town arrest on Khalil Sus from Dura. Khalil is chairman of the student council at the Hebron Polytechnic. Town arrest was also renewed on Firas Baghee, Secretary of the Student Council and a resident of Beni Naim and on Zuhair Abd al-Hadi, a student at Bir Zeit University.

TWO WEEKS FOR STONES

Israeli authorities closed the Sa'ir Secondary School for two weeks after students stoned Israeli vehicles.

Stores on the main street in Halhoul were reopened after they had been closed for a weeks following the stoning of Israeli vehicles.

AL-BIREH GARBAGE

The committee in charge of garbage disposal in the Israeli-controlled al-Bireh municipality refused to remove garbage in al-Amari refugee camp for the third consecutive week. No reason was given. Residents of the camp and the surrounding area filed a complaint to the committee but the committee refused to take action. The residents say that the persistance of garbage in the streets will lead to severe gastro-intestinal diseases, especially affecting children.

May 13, 1983

STUDENT HELD

Israeli military authorities detained Jamal Shaker Hindi, from Jenin refugee camp. Hindi, a student at Najah University, Nablus, was summoned to the military compound in Jenin but did not return home in the evening. Hindi previously spent three years in Israeli prisons on political charges. He was also held at Fara'a detention camp several times during the past year.

YOUTHS HELD

Israeli soldiers detained four Palestinian youths from Arabeh, near Jenin. Muhyi Mohammad A'ardah, Hussein Hilmi Shaker, Rashid Said Hamdan, and Mohammad Mustafa Assa'ad, were arrested from their homes after they were body-searched by Israeli soldiers. It is not known what charges they are being held on.

May 14, 1983

19 LEBANESE HIT

BEIRUT — Nineteen Lebanese soldiers were injured after an explosion during exercises at Ramal, near Beirut airport.

REFUSENIKS SENTENCED

TEL AVIV — Two Israeli soldiers were imprisoned for refusing to serve in Lebanon. Noam Kamner was sentenced to 28 days imprisonment and David Radfil, 30 days. Israel Radio stated that 51 soldiers have been jailed for the same reason so far with 16 of them still in jail.

SHOMALI FREED

BEIT SAHOUR — Tariq Shomali, a resident of Beit Sahour, was released Friday after serving 18 months. He was accused of stoning the Bethlehem military governor's car. In a subsequent beating he was crippled. His family was also exiled to Ain al-Sultan camp, Jericho, for a short period, but returned after international pressure.

Hussein Abed Rabbo, a resident of Beit Jala, was also released after an eight-day punitive detention.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION

DHEISHEH — The Dheisheh Social Youth Centre distributed food to first grade students in the Dheisheh Preparatory School for Boys.

BOMB

BEIRUT — Lebanese sources said that a bomb planted under a car in the Burj al-Barajneh area was defused.

YOUTH CLUB OPEN

The Tulkarm refugee camp youth centre was reopened after a seven-month closure by the military.

NURSING BULLETIN

The internal committee of the nurses union in the West Bank published the first issue of a new bulletin, *Nursing and the Community*. It contains interviews and articles concerning nursing.

BZU PLAY

The Arts Committee of Bir Zeit University Student Council sponsored a performance of the *Farafirs* theatre group's play *The Mukhtar of the Mukhtars*. It had an enthusiatic reception.

SHAKA'A HARASSMENT

Bassam Shaka a, dismissed mayor of Nablus, complained about the renewed harassment by soldiers in front of his home in Nablus. They are constantly harassing his family and property, he said. His lawyer, Felicia Langer, filed a complaint to the legal advisor of the occupation authorities listing the harassment against Shaka'a. Soldiers have recently been returned to the front of Shaka'a's house following a few months respite.

BUS SHOT

SA'IR — An unidentified group shot into a parked bus belonging to the Sa'ir al-Shuik company. The JD30,000 bus was sprayed with bullet holes. The bus company has three buses out of order. The bus which was vandalised was to be used for the al-Shuikh-Hebron line today. Police have begun an investigation.

May 15, 1983

ISRAELI WAR PROTEST

JERUSALEM Fifteen Israeli women from the Parents Against Silence movement protested in front of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's office. Posters read: "The Israeli Army in the Shouf Mountains Is Not Protecting Galilee" — and called for the complete Israeli withdrawal of forces from Lebanon.

BRAVO, SULEIMAN

JERUSALEM The Palestinian artist Suleiman Mansur received a gold medal in an Arab art competition held in Kuwait for his painting entitled *Sakhrun*.

EGGED TROUBLES

TEL AVIV Thirteen buses of the Israeli Egged company were smashed in Beer Sheba and in the Naqab and two buses were found outside the city. Police believe company employees planned the action.

CAMP YOUTH

AL-AMARI — The social activities committee of al-Amari camp's youth centre resumed work on a sewage system for the camp after collecting donations from camp residents. The youths also plan to build a house for one of the poorer families at the camp.

35 YEARS LATER

Three people were shot in Nablus in May 15 demonstrations. One of the three was shot by Israeli soldiers who were trying to prevent his escape. He was taken to hospital for treatment. A second was wounded while trying to escape. The third youth was found near the old mosque in Nablus with a bullet in his chest. The circumstances surrounding his injury are not known. In Ramallah, Israeli cars were stoned while students struck.

51 OBJECTORS

"There Is A Limit", *Yesh Gvul*, a movement of reserve officers

against the Lebanon invasion, announced that two more soldiers were imprisoned for refusing to serve in Lebanon. So far 51 soldiers have been imprisoned for refusing to participate in the war.

STUDENT ART

RAMALLAH – Students of Anata Girls Primary School will hold their yearly art exhibit this week. The local director of education will open the show.

CAMP CURFEWED

BETHLEHEM – Curfew on Aida camp was extended to the third consecutive day.

VILLAGE ARSON

NABLUS Arsonists tried to burn a warehouse and a car belonging to Taher Abed al-Majed Doula of Sawee.

NAJAH FORUM

NABLUS A political forum was sponsored by the Employees Union of Najah University. Dr Abed al-Star Qassim and Adnan Dameriah, chairman of student body, spoke of the situation at the universities.

May 16, 1983

HOUSE BULLDOZED

Israeli bulldozers demolished the house of Ata and Issa al-Razim in al-Hussein valley, opposite Kiryat Arba settlement, despite the fact that the owners of the house received a legal permit to build six months ago. Two families, totaling 20 people, are now homeless.

UNRWA DRAGGED IN

A US consulate official in Jerusalem, accompained by an UNRWA official, paid a visit to a refugee camp several days ago. The American asked questions about the Reagan plan. This visit was protested by UNRWA representatives, who called it an interference in their affairs.

BETHLEHEM BOMB

A Molotov was thrown at an Egged bus in Bethlehem which was on its way to Kiryat Arba settlement.

SOURCES DEMANDED

Jenin's police department summoned Ibrahim al-Qura'an, editor of *al-Awda* magazine, for the second time demanding the identities of those individuals who wrote about the poisoning issue.

SKY'S THEIRS

Israeli war planes were reported to have flown over Sidon and South Lebanon.

WE'RE ALL GOING TO THE ZOO

The social committee of the Bethlehem Working Women's Union sponsored a children's outing to the zoo in Arab Jerusalem as part of their preparations for International Children's Day, June 1. The trip was attended by approximately 90 children and their mothers.

STUDENTS FIRM

BIR ZEIT– The student unity bloc of Bir Zeit University and the student high school committee of Ramallah issued a statement calling May 15 an occasion marking struggle until liberation. The statement reaffirmed Palestinian national unity and the PLO as the sole Palestinian representative and stressed the need to hold on to the Palestine National Council decisions.

WORKERS STATISTICS

35,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza work in Israel, according to the Arabic daily *Al-Ittihad*. This number represents five percent of the Israeli work force and a third of the unskilled workers of the West Bank and Gaza. In 1970 25 percent of the unskilled workers in the West Bank and Gaza worked in the agricultural field, but by 1982 the percentage decreased to 13 percent. At the same time, unskilled labour in the Israeli factories increased from 12 to 17 percent.

CAR VANDALISED

The car of TV news editor Rafiq Halabi was vandalised while it was parked in front of Israeli television headquarters in Jerusalem. His mailbox at the studios was also damaged.

Davar newspaper added that since Halabi's promotion to news editor from West Bank affairs reporter, there have been many threats against him, some written on official television stationary.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

JERUSALEM Israel Radio said the bomb which exploded in Sidon, South Lebanon, yesterday injured members of Saad Haddad's militias and not Israeli troops. An Israeli military source reported that one of Haddad's men was badly wounded.

SETTLERS UP

According to official sources, 2500 Israeli families have applied for places in settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. The settlement bureau stated the percentage of Jewish families wanting to settle in Gaza has risen five-fold. A new campaign is planned for settlements in the Golan Heights and western Galilee. It was recently announced that there are 7000 empty apartments in the West Bank settlements.

SYRIAN CALL UP

BEIRUT – Voice of Lebanon Radio mentioned that the Syrian authorities had called up reserve soldiers between the ages of 18 and 55.

NEW CURFEW RELIEF

NABLUS – A curfew was lifted on Nablus town and Balata refugee camp. Abd al-Rahman Astetee, 51, was transferred from Rafidya to the Meir Hospital, Kufur Saba, for further treatment on the chest wound he received, May 15. Jamal Hasan, 20, shot in the thigh the same day, remains in Ittihad Women's Hospital. Two other injured youths have been discharged.

RURAL SUPPORT CALL

RAMALLAH – The higher committee for voluntary work in the West Bank and Gaza called for the harvest season to take on the importance of a national holiday. They called for voluntary help to be given to Palestinian farmers in harvesting.

May 17, 1983

WALLS FALL DOWN

JERUSALEM – The 500-year-old walls of the Old City of Jerusalem are threatened with collapse in the wake of the current spate of excavations carried out by the West Jerusalem municipality.

Municipal bulldozers have been digging below the historic walls for several days. They have already knocked down the stone fence surrounding the public gardens that cover the patch of land stretching from Damascus Gate to Herod's Gate, two of the Old City's most historic passageways.

FRIENDS GUILTY TOO

Israel Radio reported the arrest of pharmacist Ziad Sha'at, a former member of the Rafah municipal council, for "security reasons."

Sha'at has been known for his close ties with Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali), a former Rafah resident who was exiled to the desert under a banning order, last week.

MORE CITRUS PROBLEMS

Citrus growers in Tulkarm continue to complain of nose-diving prices. The growers report that lower prices in West Bank and Jordanian markets have forced them to uproot 20 orange groves, covering 300 dunums. They also say current prices hardly enable them to recoup operating expenses.

NEW SETTLEMENT

BETHLEHEM – Israeli bulldozers started work in Hussan, a small village on the fringes of Bethlehem. The bulldozers are digging a road to a projected new settlement, to be named Hadar Betar.

WEST BANK OPERATIONS

JERUSALEM – There has been a substantial increase in the number of military operations conducted by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in the West Bank in the last year

According to Israeli daily *Haaretz*. PLO operations showed a 69 percent rise, compared with the previous year. There was also a 79 percent rise in demonstrations.

Most of these operations were carried out after the Israeli blitz in Lebanon, and the exodus of the PLO from Beriut.

ACCIDENT

RAMALLAH – Four residents from the Kalandia refugee camp on the outskirts of Ramallah were slightly injured when the car in which they were travelling collided with an Israeli military vehicle.

They were discharged from hospital after receiving treatment.

ART INSTITUE

KHAN YUNIS, GAZA – The Israel Supreme Court will hold a session in Jerusalem on June 8 to consider an appeal to reopen the Khan Yunis art institute. Its owner has refused to alter its designation from an academic institute to a center for vocational guidance.

The court will also be considering the suit brought by the owner of the art institute against the Israeli military government and the officer in charge of education.

GAZA ID'S

Gazan expatriates have until October 1, this year, to renew their old identity cards.

Israeli occupation authorities have announced that Gazans holding old ID cards can have them renewed during their summer visits here.

They said new cards will be issued within two weeks of applying for them, and warned against any delays.

BANNED PUBLICATIONS

The Tulkarm military court sentenced Hilmi Khadr Abu Tamam to four months in prison suspended for three years, and fined him IS5000 for selling copies of *Al Awdeh*, the East Jerusalem magazine banned in the West Bank.

AFFORESTATION GRAB

JERUSALEM – Officials of the Israel Nature Reserves Authority conducted an afforestation programme in the West Bank village of al-Liban.

The Israelis have planted nearly 5000 trees since January on privately-owned land without giving prior notification of their intention to the landowners.

JORDAN TURNS SCREWS

AMMAN – The Jordanian interior ministry has announced new measures aimed at residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The official announcement stipulates that the only recognised point of entry (to Jordan for West Bank and Gaza residents) will be the King Hussein and Prince Mohammad bridges, Infractions of this ruling will not be tolerated and violators will be prosecuted, the announcement said. This applies equally to holders or temporary Jordanian passports.

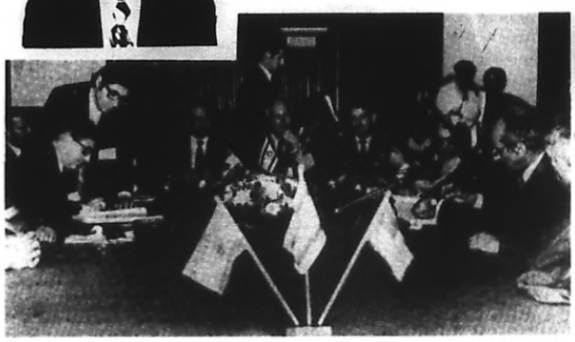
The new regulations will forbid any West Bank or Gaza resident from entering Jordan if the Israeli permits they carry contain any clause preventing the holders' freedom of return before the expiration date.

Israeli soldiers divert traffic around Aida camp through Bethlehem, May 17. The camp has been under cerfew for several days/ JN

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE BEGIN - GEMAYEL PACT

Lebanon Now Faces a Long War of Attrition

The agreement is seen by Syria and Lebanese national forces as the cornerstone for the realisation of Zionist plans for regional domination.



Meanwhile... Lebanese opposition to occupation gains momentum.

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

ROME, May 17 — Late last night,in a move which took the regime of Amin Gemayel completely by surprise. Syria blocked the Damascus-Beirut highway and closed frontier posts, thus threatening the Lebanese economy and economic relations with the Arab world with utter paralysis. This measure, which was preceded a month ago by the cessation of all passenger flights between Damascus and Beirut, is meant to pressure public opinion in Lebanon to revolt against approval of the US-sponsored Begin Gemayel accord. The agreement is seen by Syria, Lebanese national forces and many outside observers as the cornerstone for the realisation of long-time Zionist plans for regional domination through the transformation of Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate. The Syrian move could have had immediate results. According to some reports from Lebanon, May 18, the government has postponed final ratification of the agreement "in order to have more time to negotiate with Syria." If confirmed, this sensational development constitutes a surprise waiting for US Special Envoy to the Middle East Philip Habib, who is expected in Beirut shortly. Syria has already announced that they will not have him in their country. They have told the US that no negotiations will be carried on through Habib, either now or in the future. Meanwhile, all militants of the Lebanese organisations opposing the accord are leaving Beirut and concentrating in the Shouf mountains, controlled by Progressive Socialist Party forces led by Walid Jumblatt, where partisans are being organised for war against the regime and occupation forces.

With so much talk about peace in Lebanon in the press, and with US efforts to sustain the position that Syrian opposition to the accord is not to be taken seriously, Beirut has been living through one of its worst periods of fear and foreboding of future events since the end of the all-out war. For the past several days all Lebanese who can afford it have been boarding crammed planes to Cyprus, where they plan to await future developments. The capital is heavily patrolled by police and army in armoured cars and tanks and the multinational forces have been put on the highest level of alert. A French aircraft carrier is at anchor off the Beirut harbour to support their national contingent.

The atmosphere in which the accord was ratified on Monday by the so-called parliament — beseiged by tanks and massive army and police units — in a session lasting less than one hour, with no debate whatsoever, and in the absence of the deputies from the north and the Beqa'a, symbolises the climate in Beirut. The vote took place after a motion of approval of the accord was presented by octogenarian Sunnite leader Saeb Salem long-time puppet of all reactionary forces in the region. At the same time a meeting took place in Damascus, following consultations in Tripoli on Sunday, between Syrian president Hafez al-Assad — in search of allies after the landslide alignment of almost all Arab regimes, from Algeria to Kuwait, with the US dictated accord, and of cards for negotiations — and five Lebanese opposition leaders, to attempt an amplification of the political base of the national resistance front. The five leaders - Walid Jumblatt, head of the PSP, George Haoui, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party, Assem Kanso, Lebanon-Syrian Baath Party leader, Suleiman Frangieh and Rashid Karameh, respectively dissident Maronite and Sunnite leaders in the north - were promised full support for all activities which hinder application of the capitulation accord. In contrast with some expectations, however, they did not proclaim after the meeting the reconstitution of the Lebanese National Movement (dissolved by Jumblatt last autumn) perhaps with a view to talks with opposition leaders who were not present, such as Shi'ite leader Nebih Berri.

The prospect facing Lebanon now is of a long war of attrition to be conducted at various levels - military, economic and political. A major long term goal of such a war would be, as PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat explained in his address to Fatah military cadres and Central Committee members on Sunday, May 15, to change the balance of forces within the Arab world in favour of a steadfast national stance, in support of the Palestinian cause and against the present capitulationist trends which favour the US and Israel. That such a change is a fundamental and primary condition for any positive developments has been proved once more, if there was any need for proof, in these days. In particular, the Saudi double-game which on the one hand avoids direct, especially financial, pressure on Syria to retract but on the other encourages all other Arab regimes linked to Riyadh and conservative Lebanese Sunnites to support the Gemayel regime's policies, recalls the painful realities behind the scenes of last year's war which, more than then- Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's bombs, led to the evacuation of Beirut.

Another question is whether concrete and effective possibilities exist to bring about a similar change through a war of attrition - probably including a renewed civil war - in Lebanon, and at what cost. Too many elements needed to answer this question are not clearly visible at the present moment. What is clear, however, is, as a major Italian news commentator wrote two days ago, that "an indiscriminate repression such as is being carried out now in the Palestinian camps and in poor Lebanese neighbourhoods in Beirut and South Lebanon makes peace appear (in) a much worse perspective than a war, and would in any case inevitably end up by generating new wars."

On this front the news, in fact, continues to be dramatic. Following the killings of Palestinian women, two weeks ago, in Ain al-Hilweh and Burj al-Shemali, the naked, bullet-ridden corpse of a Palestinian woman was found last week near Jezzine. Following the wave of bomb attacks against shops owned by Palestinians in Beirut two more attacks took place last week on Hamra Street the Lebanese newspapers are flooded with advertisements saying "This is to inform that the shop (or business office) so-and-so belongs to a *Lebanese* person named... ". The terror of bombs continues to reign in the camps. Through the last week Sabra camp was flooded with leaflets "promising" that "not one Palestinian will remain on the sacred soil of Lebanon". On May 17, a Phalangist minibus attempting to penetrate Shatila camp was forced to retreat only after a prolonged battle with an armoured patrol of the Italian forces. Moreover, in the south, following the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian population from Sidon towards Ain al-Hilweh camp, by Phalangist, Saad Haddad and Guardians of the Cedars militias, the latter group is now undertaking acts of terror against camp inhabitants in an attempt to expel them to the Beqa'a.

Meanwhile, internal Lebanese opposition to the occupation is constantly gaining momentum, and with it the level of repression. On the night between May 8 and 9, the town of Qaroun in the western Beqa'a was surrounded by 3000 occupation troops, who entered the place in a war formation of tanks and armoured cars under daylight illumination of floodlights. They forced all male residents between 13 and 60 into a public square, blindfolded them while dividing them into groups, and then searched all the houses, one by one forcing open any that were closed. At dawn, following exhaustive interrogations and screenings accompanied by beatings and brutalities, 65 men and women were thrown into trucks and taken southwards. Unconfirmed reports say the men were imprisoned at Ansar and the women at Nabatiyeh special prison. The remaining population received forms to fill in regarding their social and economic situation and political affiliations and ideas. Occupation military spokesmen motivated this first mass act of repression on a vast scale with "news received that groups of youngsters in the town were preparing for actions against the Israeli army." In reality, as the town's population stated in a collective memorandum sent to Beirut the next day requesting the Lebanese government to intervene immediately for the release of all prisoners, the attack by the occupation forces was due to the firm refusal of the whole town "to permit the institution of so-called national guards in replacement of the legal authorities and with the aim of creating intrigues and dividing the population." The memorandum of the Qaroun population also states that occupation troops destroyed their agricultural harvest and committed acts of violence against defenceless civilians "with the clear goal of intimidating the population and placing in front of it the choice of staying and accepting their *diktat* and atrocities or to go away from their land." Among the 65 prisoners taken away were the town's mukhtar and the prefect of the nearby village of Jib Jenine, which together with the village of Jibchit, was at the centre of demonstrations against the occupation by the Shi'ite population between March 18 and April 3. The next day, May 9, similar scenes were repeated in the villages of Mazbut and Keter Mya, where six people were arrested and taken to occupation command at Sidon. The population of both villages, for the most part Sunnites, appealed to the mufti of Beirut, Sheikh Khaled al-Hassan, to intervene in favour of the prisoners.

Italian Journalist Expelled

ROME, May 18 Three weeks after the arrest and deportation from Beirut of the Italian photojournalist Paola Crociani, and while the press here is heavily attacking the government for not having protested the case to the Gemayel regime,another Italian journalist, Franco Tintori of *Paese Sera*, was expelled by the Lebanese security service, May 15. Tintori, who had a regular entry visa from the Lebanese consulate in Rome valid for 10 days, was expelled on the third day of his stay in Beirut,where he was collecting data on the work and problems of the Italian contingent of the multinational forces in protecting the Palestinian civilian population in the camps. He was a guest of the contingent's command.

No official reason was given for his expulsion, but he was threatened to leave immediately. At the airport, where Tintori was accompanied by a unit of Italian paratroopers for protection, his passport and plane ticket were taken away and then returned only after the *surete* men realised they could not arrest him, this time.